REPORT RESUMES

ED 013 669 PS 000 209

PROJECT HEAD START AND THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, A STUDY OF PARTICIPATING AND NON-PARTICIPATING FAMILIES IN AREAS SERVED BY PROJECT HEAD START IN ROCHESTER, FINAL REPORT.

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PUB DATE JAN 66
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$4.56 114P.

DESCRIPTORS- *CULTURAL DISADVANTAGEMENT, POLITICAL ATTITUDES, FAMILY ATTITUDES, COMMUNITY ATTITUDES, *COMMUNITY STUDY, *EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, ECOLOGICAL FACTORS, ECONOMIC FACTORS, SOCIALIZATION, SOCIAL INFLUENCES, POLICE ACTION, CHURCH RESPONSIBILITY, *POVERTY PROGRAMS, COMMUNITY ACTION, IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS, HEAD START, ROCHESTER, N.Y.

A COMMUNITY PROFILE OF ROCHESTER, N.Y. CITES HISTORY, PRESENT COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS, AND CURRENT IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS AS THEY RELATE TO CULTURAL DEPRIVATION AND AN ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM. TO DETERMINE WHAT EFFECTS HISTORICAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, ECOLOGICAL, AND SOCIAL FORCES HAVE UPON HEAD START CHILDREN, MATCHED GROUPS OF EIGHT HEAD START FAMILIES AND EIGHT NON-HEAD START FAMILIES WERE INTERVIEWED CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICAL PARTIES, POLICE, CHURCH, AND HEAD START AND CONCERNING EXPECTATIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN'S HEAD START PARTICIPATION, FOR THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM, AND FOR THE FUTURE. OTHER FACTORS INCLUDING EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, SPEECH CLARITY, SOCIALIZATION, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, HOME CONDITIONS, FINANCIAL STATUS, AND MOBILITY WERE ALSO ASKED ABOUT. CONCLUSIONS WERE THAT HEAD START DID NOT REACH THE MORE SEVERELY CULTURALLY DEPRIVED. RECOMMENDATIONS WERE THAT AN ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM STRESS INCREASE IN INCOME, THAT INCREASED USE BE MADE OF INDIGENOUS PERSONS, THAT HEAD START FAMILIES BE COMPENSATED FOR PARTICIPATION, AND THAT REALISTIC EVALUATION BE MADE OF CURRENT PROGRAMS. (LG)

Final Report #563

ED013669

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PROJECT HEAD START AND THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

A study of participating and non-participating families
in areas served by Project Head Start in Rochester.

OEO 562

PS000209

January, 1966

This report on families of areas served by Project Head Start in Rochester, New York, was prepared by the Social Services Department of the Rochester Area Council of Churches, Inc.

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Introduction

The eradication of poverty has been declared a difficult but desirable goal. Aside from inflicting critical damage upon creativity and productivity in the individual, poverty imposes staggering social and economic consequences upon the whole nation. Recognizing the complexity and depth of the problem, convinced of the necessity for its amelioration, the federal government has initiated action involving local, state, and national resources in an all-out war on poverty.

The battle is early and local. Childhood, the crucible of potential, is too often the time of the death of aspiration and ambition; and social scientists, seeking the causes, grimly trace the pattern of failure which flows from generation to generation in families among the population of the poor. And in the local community--where the poor live--are the forces which mould achievement and failure, struggling for possession of human life.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has initiated a community action program called PROJECT HEAD START whose focus is on the child and his immediate environment, and whose aim is to provide practical assistance towards the development of that child's potential. It is felt by some that this effective focus, and subsequently the fulfillment of aims, can be achieved only if serious attention is given to the community context of a local Head Start program.

Questions arise in the consideration of this context: What is the community like? What forces contribute to the situation of the child? Who are the significant figures in his life, and what are the attitudes they hold towards society?

If these questions can be answered--if a community profile can be drawn, the significant forces and figures in the child's life identified, and attitudes measured--then, perhaps, a program dealing with his potential can be enhanced and intensified.

Under the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity, a local project of Operation Head Start, community action program, has been initiated in Rochester, New York. This effort to help the underprivileged child to "catch up" to the normal stages of his development in his early years are necessary if the child is to have a better chance to achieve adequate education and training for later vocation or profession. This recognized fact that the child of poverty is seriously hampered even before he begins elementary school can be changed only if special attention is given to his needs and to those of his immediate environment.

Heretofore, evaluations, diagnostic and prognostic, have emphasized the internalized distortions and deprivations in the individual toward whom efforts have been directed. A question of the validity of this attitude is raised when a different assumption is adopted: What is the effect of the health and pathology of the total environment upon the individual? There are other forces present in the life of the child besides those operating within him and the influence of his immediate family. Serious attention must be given this context in which special efforts are being made. What are those other forces?

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In this report we shall describe something of those historical, ecological, political, economic, and social forces operating in Rochester, which have their effect on the child enrolled in the local Head Start Program.

The Operation Head Start Program is being carried on in eighteen centers, in two principal geographic areas of the city where poverty is most evident. With a combined population of 25,179 persons, these will be the areas described in the report.

CONTENT OF STUDY

Historical -- How did the studied areas arrive at their present state? What was the nature of the process, its tenure, its outstanding characteristics?

Economic -- How much money is earned, by how many people? What happens to the money received by the people of the area--how is it used, who gets it? What kind of influence does it have on the families involved in the Head Start project?

Political -- What groups or individuals make the decisions which affect the lives of the people of the studied areas? What is the nature of that power? Is the area represented in the total community, and if so, how? What political party dominates party politics in the area? What relationship, if any, exists between the partys' platform and their performance? What effect does the political life of the area have there? Are the Head Start families affected?

Ecological -- What is the relationship between this community and the larger Rochester community? How are the people of the area distributed? Where do they go, and what happens to them when they do? Who enters the area, what for, and what effect does this have on the people of the area? What kind of movement takes place within the area, between the areas involved? What is the involvement of Head Start families?

Social -- What groups besides the family are significant to the child involved in the program? What significant figures emerge from the family's experience? What is the family's involvement with the institutions in the area? What effect does this involvement have in terms of attitudes towards "social" action?

SECTION ONE: ROCHESTER

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Rochester

Rochester presents a rather striking picture of a stable, prosperous community. It has shown a steady growth in industrial, economic stability, a big degree of home ownership, a growing number of educational and cultural institutions, and a sensitive community consciousness.

Its status was molded by its historical process, which made its positive characteristics possible, but which also made it resistant to rapid social change. The events that make for social change have occurred, however, and the result has been the development of a tension which has challenged the community's talents and ingenuity.

The following brief paragraphs will describe that historical context, the social changes which have occurred, and the present picture which has resulted.

History[1]

Settled in the early 1800's by "Yankees, Yorkers, Southerners, and a sprinkling of Negroes", Rochester received its first city charter in 1834. The great migrations to the United States by Europeans swelled Rochester's foreign-born population so that, by the late 1800's, the influx represented 70% of the population. This immigration leveled off, and declined by 1920. In the years that followed, the immigration has come chiefly from other parts of the nation, plus Puerto Rico. These "waves" of migration have given

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[1] Material for this section on history was secured in an interview with Mr. Blake McKelvey, City of Rochester Historian.

Rochester whatever cosmopolitan character it has.

The migrations which determined the character of the population came as the result of promising economic conditions, and these were determined by the development of industry.

The industrial character of a city is determined partly by geography, and Rochester's early character was molded by its location to Lake Ontario and the Erie Canal. Its position on the lake gave it a moderate climate, and the canal placed it in favorable proximity to a major transportation source. For a while, then, Rochester was an important milling center - its granary products being transported Westward on the Erie Canal.

The rapid expansion of the American frontier, with the subsequent growth of Great Lakes cities like Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo, diminished the canal's importance as a transportation asset, however, and this, along with the fact that there was no direct access to Lake Ontario, caused the diminuition of Rochester's mill industries.

Responding to these developments, Rochester's business and industrial community introduced diversified industries to the area, including about everything from foundries to caskets, but with an emphasis on the clothing industries.

Again, the city's business interests were challenged. Businessmen found that an upstate New York community could not compete with other cities which had cheaper labor markets and easy access to to transportation facilities.

This brought about the decision to concentrate on products which require greater skills in the making. Clothing produced in Rochester became "Special products for a special market". Optical firms, requiring skills in production, were established. Gleason industries, formerly a foundry, started to produce machines which would make gears. On State Street, George Eastman began to develop a novelty - the camera, with film.

The decades which followed were to prove the fortune of the early decisions, for the industries that grew were not easily susceptible to fluctuations in the national economy, and when the Depression occurred they survived.

The social character of a city is determined in part by the kinds of industries it has, also. Because skills were needed for participation in the kinds of industries Rochester had adopted, it became clear that residents needed for production would have to be trained well. Leaders of the business-industrial community insisted upon, contributed freely to, and received schools in which potential workers were introduced to the theories and techniques necessary for the sustenance of production.

Workers thus trained and employed created greater markets as they prospered. As proceeding generations of Rochester families became better educated their standard of living grew, home ownership multiplied, more businesses were attracted, and the kind of community was established in which pride and status became increasingly important.

This thumbnail sketch describing the process by which Rochester's industrial, business, and cultural institutions were established, and particular kind of community spirit developed, is important to this report because it gives the background of a conviction "internalized" in the people of the city - that there is no place here for uneducated people, there cannot be, so they must be trained, or leave.

The immigrations which followed the establishment of this conviction were principally of people who were not educated, whose history led to low educational aspiration, and who, for various reasons, were not so easily assimilated into the community.

There is this rather intransigent demand, then, for educated workers in industries requiring some skills - and these will not change; there is this "community within the community" of people who have not been assimilated into the Rochester economy - with low educational, vocational aspirations. No radical change for this group is seen in this generation.

The resultant tension presents Rochester with a challenge to its ingenuity and talent.

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THE PRESENT PICTURE

Statistical information makes suggestions about the character of a given community at a given moment in that community's history.

What is Rochester like? In terms of population characteristics? In terms of its economy? Housing? Education? In terms of the poor? This selection of the report will seek to deal with those considerations.

1. Population[2]

Like many of our nation's urban cities New York State's third largest city has experienced the same striking simultaneous decline and acceleration of population.

Within the past decade the population of Rochester's suburbs has increased 79.5%. During the same period the rate of growth has been even more striking. That rate (20.3 percent) is second largest among Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of New York State, and is considerably above the average for metropolitan areas in the state. (13.4 percent) It is also above the average for metropolitan areas in Northeastern United States.

During the same decade the population of the city of Rochester proper decreased 4.2 percent. We had experienced the fourth largest decline of population in the state.

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[2] Principal data for this section of the report came from a report published by the Bureau of Municipal Research.

The city of Rochester experienced continuous and substantial increases in its population until the year 1930. The subsequent years however, from 1930-1960, have shown a decrease in the overall population figures as is illustrated in the following table of population statistics.[3]

Population Trends
City of Rochester and Remainder of Monroe County (1900-1960)

1900	162,608	1940	324,975
1910	218,149	1950	332,488
1920	295,750	1960	318,611
1930	328,132		

A general analysis of the population composition indicates two important factors: 1) a decrease in the white population; 2) a sharp increase in the non-white population including Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and others. The following table gives a breakdown of the Rochester population by race.

	1930	1940	1950	1960
Total Population	328,132	324,975	332,488	318,611
White Population	325,294	321,554	324,643	294,383
Non-white Population	2,838	3,421	7,845	24,228

The non-white population in 1930 represented only 2.4% of the total population whereas in 1960 the non-white population represented 7.6% of the total population which is a significant gain. A further breakdown of the above cited racial population statistics would include the following data in the following age categories on a percentage basis.

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[3] Material for this section on population used as its source the U.S. Census of Population.

Total Population

	1930	1940	1950	1960
0 - 19	32.7%	27.1%	26.5%	32.1%
20 - 64	61.2%	64.7%	62.5%	53.9%
65 and over	6.1%	8.2%	11.0%	14.0%

White Population

	1930	1940	1950	1960
0 - 19	32.7%	27.1%	26.3%	31.0%
20 - 64	61.1%	64.7%	62.5%	53.9%
65 and over	6.1%	8.2%	11.1%	14.0%

Non-white Population

	1930	1940	1950	1960
0 - 19	27.8%	29.7%	31.9%	46.8%
20 - 64	68.9%	65.8%	64.3%	50.3%
65 and over	3.3%	4.5%	3.9%	2.9%

Note: Due to rounding, items do not necessarily add to totals. (100%)

Future population projection figures in Rochester for 1970 and 1980 anticipate continuous expected growth of the non-white population and a decline in the white population due to the white outmigration movement. The rate of change is substantiated in the following table.

				Change
A.	Total Population	1950-60	332,488-318,611	(-4.2%) -13,877
		1960-70	318,611-315,334	(-1.0%) - 3,277
		1970-80	315,334-319,650	(+1.4%) + 4,316
B.	White Population	1950-60	324,643-294,383	(-9.3%) -30,260
		1960-70	294,383-269,587	(-8.4%) -24,796
		1970-80	269,587-244,300	(-9.4%) -25,289
C.	Non-white Population	1950-60	7,845- 24,228	(+208.8%) +16,383
		1960-70	24,228- 45,747	(+ 88.8%) +21,519
		1970-80	45,747- 75,350	(+ 64.7%) +29,603

The anticipated increase in the non-white population in Rochester is indeed significant from the standpoint of family incomes, employment, housing and public school education.

Housing

To date, the non-white population has been largely confined to living in two sections of Rochester, namely the Third and Seventh Wards, which includes all or parts of the following census tracts: 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 27, 43, 44, 64, 65. The census tracts generally correspond with the Third and Seventh Ward boundaries as well as parts of a few contiguous ward areas. A racial population breakdown of the listed census tracts is as follows:

	Third Ward		Seventh Ward
Tracts	3	Tracts	11
	4		12
	27		13
	64		14
	65		15
			43
			44
			45

Tract totals (3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 27)

1940		1950		1960	
Total Pop.	Non-white Pop.	Tot. Pop.	Non-white Pop.	Tot. Pop.	Non-white Pop.
22,178	2,433	23,150	5,903	18,918	12,148

Tract totals (14, 15, 43, 44, 64, 65)

Total Pop.	Non-white Pop.	Tot. Pop.	Non-white Pop.	Tot. Pop.	Non-white Pop.
24,169	119	22,889	561	21,941	6,424

Subsequent to the foregoing breakdown in the listed census tracts is the following descriptive element of parts of the Third and Seventh Wards, here referred to as Planning Area 1 and Planning Area 28 respectively for years 1950-1960.

Planning Area 1

Main characteristics of Major Component Tracts (3, 4)

Age: percent under 18 low, increasing rapidly; high percentage of productive age group 18-24.

Race and Foreign Background: very high percentage of non-white population, growing rapidly; negligible number of persons with foreign backgrounds.

Income: family income very low, little growth.

Employment: very high rate of unemployment, increasing; very high percentage of laborers and service workers.

Housing: very high percentage of renter occupied units, high vacancy rates and high degree of deterioration and dilapidation.

Planning Area 28

Main characteristics of Major Component Tracts (6,11,12,43,44,45)

Age: very high proportion of children under 18, growing fast (except Tract 45).

Race and Foreign Background: heavy concentration of non-white persons, growing rapidly; high percentage of Italian stock in eastern tracts and non-whites in western tracts.

Income: level of average incomes very low in western tracts, low in eastern tracts.

Employment: western tract 12 has highest rate of unemployment (25.6%), remaining tracts very high, becoming worse; service workers and laborers increasing.

Housing: high ratio of renter occupied units, very high vacancy rate; very high degree of structural blight in tracts 12 and 45; very large average family size (except tract 45)

The extent of deteriorated and delapidated housing in some of the listed census tracts is as follows:

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Census Tract	Non-white	White and vacant
3	21.1%	22.2%
4	32.4%	25.8%
11	99.1%	47.6%
12	72.9%	61.3%
13	43.6%	46.2%
27	53.5%	35.2%

Furthermore the high density rate, or persons per household in the same census tracts as compared with the white population is as follows:

Census Tract	Non-white	White
3	3.69%	1.85%
4	3.20%	1.96%
11	3.87%	2.76%
12	3.70%	2.72%
13	4.63%	2.97%
27	3.94%	3.32%
City Average	3.86%	2.91%

Families, Housing Needs, and Income Levels in the Third Ward[4]

"As Rochester moves into its Third Ward Urban Renewal Program, we areindebted to the Urban Renewal Department, particularly to Mr. Gilbert Smith, for an analysis of data which enables us to anticipate housing needs in that area much more realistically. This information comes from the most recent house-to-house interviews and was released April 8, 1965.

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[4] Citizens Moving Toward ADEQUATE HOUSING in Rochester, Bulletin No. 4, June, 1965.

"Some of the most disturbing facts are:

- -- 1055 dilapidated dwelling units (those most seriously substandard);
- -- 2835 persons living in such units;
- -- 628 families living in such units;
- -- 2462 non-white persons and 541 non-white families in such units;
- -- 373 white persons and 87 white families living in such units.

"Significantly, the recent Study of the 1964 riots published by the Monroe County Human Relations Commission shows that bad as Third Ward housing conditions are, those in the Seventh Ward are much worse.

"Of the above cited persons and families, 12 individuals (9 of them non-white) and 48 families (39 of them non-white) own their own homes. Of the 628 families living in dilapidated housing, 399 are eligible for public housing, that is, receiving low enough incomes to permit them to live in such housing. The following break-down samples information based upon three income levels, of those now living in this dilapidated housing in the Third Ward:

	Monthly Income	No. Dwelling Units	Number Families	Number Persons	3-5 Person Families	6 or more in Fam.	Number Owners
Non-white	$50-$149	158	85	320	37	6	5
White	50- 149	72	13	87	2	0	2
Non-White	150-249	206	125	569	67	27	10
White	150-249	54	26	100	10	1	5
Non-White	450-499	38	24	96	10	5	1
White	450-499	4	3	10	1	0	1"

Family Income

Comparison of median incomes between the total and non-white population is of relative importance. In 1960 the median income figure for families of the total population in Rochester was $6,361 and $4,300 for non-white families. The median income figure for families and unrelated individuals in 1960 for the total population was $5,104 and $3,383 for the non-white population.

Education

Racial imbalance in public school education has been the end result of the confinement of the non-white population in the two residential neighborhoods, namely the Third and Seventh Wards. This imbalance is acutely evident in the public school education on the elementary school level. In 1962-63 seven elementary schools showed a percentage of over 50% non-white enrollment. These schools are located either in the Third or Seventh Wards, or in wards adjacent to one of the two mentioned wards.

Statistics regarding the non-white enrollment in these schools is as follows.

School	Number	Percentage
3	652	95.3%
4	705	92.0%
9	852	90.1%
2	832	89.8%
14	519	82.1%
27	759	69.6%
26	139	58.9%

In relation to existing residential neighborhood patterns and public school education in Rochester, the population projection figures for 1970 and 1980 of the non-white population are important, particularly in the two age categories which are listed below.

	1950	1960	1970	1980
Under 5	926	4,639	8,111	13,700
5 - 9	582	3,132	5,390	8,850

Performances of schools located nearest the areas of poverty suggest that, while teaching staffs may be of adequate quality, insufficient encouragement is given to students to achieve marks sufficient for college entrance. In a recent report published in the Times-Union, local newspaper, results of Regent examinations showed that three high schools located in closest proximity to poverty areas had lowest percent of pupils who took the examinations. The newspaper article carried the comment:

> "Educators warn against attempts to draw conclusions from them (grades) concerning the relative quality of the educational job done at each school. For one thing, the various schools have different criteria for determining which students take Regent exams. Some require all or nearly all pupils who satisfy the time requirements to take the Regents. Others encourage only the better students - the ones with the best chance of passing - to take them...Pupils from disadvantaged neighborhoods are less apt to pass Regents exams than pupils from comparatively wealthy suburban schools".[5]

It appears, when these comments are examined, that none of them explain why there is a different criterion from school to school, on what basis encouragement is given or withheld, nor why students from poorer neighborhoods are less likely to pass the tests.

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[5] The Times-Union, 12/15/65, Rochester, N.Y.

2. Economy

We have already referred to the role of industries in shaping the community climate of Rochester, pointing out that the kinds of industries developed here have not been especially vulnerable to fluctuations of the nation's general economy. Current U.S. Labor statistics place Rochester in Group "B", low unemployment (1.5-2.9%).

Below is a description of some of the general economic characteristics of Rochester. It reflects that continuous growth of economy.

The Rochester Board of Education did take steps to reduce the racial imbalance in Rochester schools. In December, 1963, Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Herman Goldberg, announced a plan of open enrollment involving six elementary schools.[6] His plan was not to be instituted without opposition, however; individuals, informal, and formal committees formed to oppose the plan, and in the months between the announcement of the plan and its execution, some Rochester parents filed legal action.[7] Other transfers did take place, and were "operating smoothly", according to one newspaper report at that time.[8] Legal battles still raged around the issue, teetering from a decision ruling the transfer illegal by State Supreme Court Judge, William Easton,

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[6] The Times-Union, 11/22/63.
[7] The Times-Union, 1/11/64.
[8] The Times-Union, 2/3/64.

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to an injunction in early June of 1964.[9] An appellate decision later in the month[10] reversed that decision, and open enrollment plans proceeded, being adopted in some cases by other schools. The school board had been joined by the three major faiths in its battle.

The School Board has developed several programs which are designed to meet the special problems present in the less privileged pupils. They include special classes, incentive programs, and tutorial resources, and under the Federal Aid to Education Act of 1965 they plan other steps to meet these problems.[11]

A report given in 1962[12] indicated that Rochester has fourteen major companies related to photography and optics, seven companies related to the automotive industry, five major food industries, and has the largest manufacturer of fixed dental equipment in the nation. Other industries relatively important are in electrical machinery, machinery not electrical, and apparel.

The same report indicated a growth pattern up by 19 percent. Reflected in employment figures (rates), this is shown by the fact that in 1959 the unemployment rate was 3 percent. Latest Labor Department statistics place it currently at 1.5 percent. Labor statistics also show that of a work force of 348,000 persons less than 9,000 persons are unemployed.[13]

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[9] The Times-Union, 6/15/64.

[10] The Times-Union, 6/22/64.

[11] From meetings attended with Supt. Goldberg.

[12] Bureau of Municipal Research Report.

Employment patterns in the areas of poverty show a different pattern. Figures taken from the report prepared by the local Anti-Poverty Corporation, Action for a Better Community, show a work force of 17,529 males and females 14 and over in these areas. Of this number, 2,039 are unemployed. Percentage-wise (using the ABC report percentages), this means that 26.1 percent of the work force in the poverty areas is unemployed - a sharp, shocking contrast to total unemployment rates for the Rochester area.

Income figures show the same kind of differential. Sales Management, a business periodical used as a resource by local business and industry, indicates that current family incomes are fairly high, with 31.7[14] percent of the families in the Rochester area having incomes of over $10,000 annually: Other percentages:

Effective Buying Income and Cash Income Breakdown[15]
for Monroe County and Rochester Households

(A) $0-2499	(B) $2500-3999	(C) $4000-6999	(D) $7000-9999	(E) $10,000 and over.
*m. 11.6	m. 9.1	m. 32.9	m. 14.7	m. 31.7
*c. 15.1	c. 12.0	c. 34.9	c. 13.7	c. 23.7

m = County
c = City

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[13] Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment, U.S. Dept. of Labor, July, 1965.

[14] Sales Management, "Effective Buying Income....", New York State, (Monroe County Section).

[15] op. cit.

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The obvious difference in income averages is known, or at least sensed, by the people who live in poverty areas, which sharpens the poignance of their plight.

1964 Riot

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the causes of civil conflict. A riot is usually triggered by a single incident, yet behind the events that follow are patterns of deep anger and alienation. It is our belief that one of the principal factors of the July, 1964, riots in Rochester was the economic factor - the obvious affluence of the general community in sharp contrast to the "ghettos". The kinds of articles taken during the episodes of looting which accompanied the riot tended to focus on basics -- food, clothing, and appliances. Other items were not among the major loot. In a statement written by one of the Council of Churches staff members one sees something of these factors:

> "A case can be made that the racial implications of the riot were grounded in the broader context of class conflict. There are several factors which suggest that the Rochester riot was primarily one of class conflict:
>
> a) The five fatalities of the riot were not the result of street fighting between Negroes and Caucasians. The one Caucasian fatality was a man of mysterious character, known hardly to anyone, who purposely presented himself with steel helmet to the police in the riot area as a citizen law enforcement volunteer. When his aid was rejected by police he wandered into the nearby crowd, was beaten somewhat and pushed into the street where he was struck and killed by a passing car. The other four fatalities occurred when a civil defense helicopter crashed on top of an apartment building in the riot area (three Negro residents and the Civil Defense Director).

b) Over one-fourth of the approximately 975 arrests were Caucasian. Some observers noted that on the first night of the riot Caucasian youths encouraged Negroes to break into and loot business establishments. Governmental law enforcement agencies and local papers have been extremely hesitant in describing the role of the arrested Caucasians in the rioting, except to say that "some of them were vigilante types."

c) Another class factor is that destruction of houses and apartments occupied by Caucasians in the ghetto did not occur. Business establishments destroyed generally seemed to have three characteristics in common--one, their owners lived outside of the ghetto; two, they were places where people were likely to owe money; ~~three, they were places where people were likely to owe money~~; three, they were places which supply basic necessities and/or necessary luxuries--beauty salons, barber shops, places of eating, and taverns were left virtually untouched. These latter tend to be owned and operated by residents of the riot area.

d) Much Negro bourgeoisie reaction was, on the surface, similar to that of Caucasian Rochesterians. Shock, bewilderment, labeling of the rioters as hoodlums, concern for law and order at almost any cost, allusions to the progress already made by Rochester in race relations, were characteristic ingredients of much Negro bourgeoisie reaction.

e) The NAACP, CORE and nationally prominent Negro civil rights leaders were verbally abused by the rioters at the height of the conflict.

f) Reasons given by rioters for their actions were those such as: "I'm tired of paying for a pound of bacon when I take home only half a pound"; "I'm tired of being out of work, my kids need shoes"; "I'm tired of paying a two cent deposit on soda bottles, and never getting the deposit returned"; etc.

"Obviously the class and racial implications of the riot cannot be absolutely separated. But it is also equally true that characteristics common to class conflict are evident. And it is much harder for a society, whether it be Black or White, to recognize and deal with conflicts between the "have nots" and the"haves".

"Theriot here, and perahps in other cities, this summer gives definite evidence of deep class conflicts within our society, the implications of which are closely related to and in fact overlap the civil rights movement but which perahps also go deeper into the roots of our society.

> "The asserted lack of coalesced power in the Negro community in Rochester must be reckoned with. We can have all the social agency programs and projects and church programs and projects in the world, but unless we direct ourselves to the problem of power and the dignity and respect which accrues to an individual engaged in a positive use of power, we are not addressing ourselves to one of the roots of social conflict."[16]

In a report submitted to the local Anti-Poverty Board,[17] the Director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps Project indicated the importance of employment to young people:

> "The progress of the Neighborhood Youth Corps to date proves that a job cannot overcome all the shortcomings of poverty;...but it can provide self-respect and income...enrollees in the NYC have earned income and demonstrated initiative".

He indicated the lack of understanding by supervisors that youths from poverty areas "want the rewards their own energies earn for them". He indicated satisfactory performance by most enrollees. He indicated that opportunity for employment is one of the most effective weapons against persistent poverty, that it is necessary for success in work, that youth must have more opportunity than is now being offered in NYC, and that it "is not yet guaranteed poverty youths in the local community". He stated the awareness of youth that the government was attempting to alleviate their condition but then stated: "The enrollees desire to know the extent of concern of Rochester." His appeal is for local concern to be shown in programs using local community resources. Two more of his statements demonstrate his further concerns:

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[16] NOTES ON THE ROCHESTER RIOT AND ITS AFTERMATH, Rev. Herbert D. White, Director of the Board for Urban Ministry, Rochester Area Council of Churches.

[17] N.Y.C. Progress Report, August 2 through September 18, 1965, ABC Inc.

> "These youths want to be a part of the employment system. They want this program financed and supported by the city which is their home".
>
> "Every work experience program for youths, which does not have a specific committment from employers in the industrial and business community to hire young workers, is programming youths out of the private employment market".

Thus is the character of Rochester's prosperity and poverty. A community whose fortune has won it a place among the shining leaders of communities across the nation is also a community where the shadows continue to deepen and the pain of poverty grows more acute.

3. Governmental, Political

Rochester's city government has reflected a progressive form (city-manager type since 1927), and has in some ways established programs which are aimed at the alleviation of theproblems of the poor; however, it is our judgment that these efforts have tended, in the main, to make the situation of the poverty areas tolerable, not eradicate poverty.

The city's educational system has arranged programs specially geared for pupils who have special problems in education. The city recreation department has developed play programs, trips, etc., for "inner-city" youngsters. It has sought, informally, to

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encourage business and industry to develop programs of training for youth, especially. These educational, recreational, and employment efforts have been addressed rather indirectly to the problem.

The city government has also been active in housing and urban redevelopment.

Produ of the extent of home ownership (100,000 units), cool toward public housing, Rochester had depended, until recent years, on private initiative, which has not met the very serious need. This rather casual approach occurred in the face of 2,681 dilapidated units, 13,104 deteriorating units, 6,132 overcrowded units.

Public housing is seriously inadequate. Of seven major upstate New York cities, Rochester had the fewest number of public housing units, lagging behind cities like Utica and Schenectady. Buffalo, next higher in population, had 6,787, while we had 762.

There is a State-assisted low-rent housing project, Hanover Houses, which is operated by Rochester Housing Authority. It is presently the only occupied public housing project in the city, although others are being built or planned. Approximately 1,100 new units are expected in the near future, and the type of housing has been declared by city council fiat to be largely "scattered-site", with garden-types predominant and only one high-rise complex.

Urban Renewal plans for the poverty areas call for replacement of dilapidated units in the Third and Seventh Wards. A downtown section has been demolished in anticipation of commercial development in what is known as the Genesee Crossroads Project.

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The city government's initiation of Action for a Better Community, poverty program, is the latest direct assault on poverty in the Rochester community, while it is considered to have serious problems by some Rochesterians, it appears to be more direct than the programs previously mentioned. Direct comments on the anti-poverty program appear later in the report.

A word about political action in the city ought perhaps to be said here. The city's predominant ethnic group is Italian, and there appears to be considerable racial feelings of negative character emenating from it. The city administration (Democrat) made its decision regarding scattered housing in the sensitive year preceding the recent election (November), and had previously established a Police Advisory Board to hear the complaints of private citizens in regard to alleged brutality, in the face of fairly large, indifferent public opinion. The primary election held in September saw a Negro candidate emerge with enough power to draw some votes from major councilmatic candidates. We are certain that the political parties are very aware of the emerging vote in poverty areas, although Republican party candidates campaigned upon issues related to racial problems in the fall election ("Crime in the streets").

Action for a Better Community, Inc.

In the spring of 1964, city and voluntary agency officials participated in a seminar on Poverty, which was held in Washington, D.C. From this meeting came a series of meetings with various community groups and individuals in an effort to develop a program in the Rochester community which would deal with the problem of poverty. It was agreed that the emphasis would be on a "governmental-voluntary partnership".

A non-profit, membership corporation named "Action for a Better Community, Inc.", was formed in December, 1964, to:

> "A. effectuate federal Public Law 88-452 the 'Economic Opportunity Act of 1964'.
>
> B. encourage the development of community programs designed to eliminate poverty, to itself make such proposals, and to itself conduct programs as needed.
>
> C. develop research and evaluation procedures in connection with all programs.
>
> D. contract with existing or new community agencies for the conduct and administration of the aforesaid community programs.
>
> E. receive and disburse the funds necessary to the foregoing."[18]

The structure of the corporation is as follows:

> "1. A Board of Directors (21), elected by the Board of Directors.
>
> 2. An Advisory Council (30-52) made up of persons from the areas to be served by the corporation, whose function would be advisory, liaison, and suggestion-making.
>
> 3. A Labor Advisory Committee (15-30) made up of persons to advise the Board in matters relative to labor unions.

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[18] Certificate of Incorporation of Action for a Better Community, Inc.

4. A Business Advisory Committee (15-30) made up of persons who would advise the Board on business conditions and matters."[19]

Programs considered and developed as of September, 1965 include:[20]

1. Work Education Training, a Board of Education project under ABC.
2. Lighted Schoolhouse, ABC project.
3. Neighborhood Service Information Centers, ABC.
4. Neighborhood Information Center (Supplement), ABC.
5. Head Start, ABC.
6. Neighborhood Youth Corps, ABC.
7. Job Corps, ABC.
8. Family Day Care Center, ABC.

Additional programs were developed under a group called "Summer Crash Programs" funded by the Federal Government for $180,218.

It is interesting to note that the main focus of almost all these programs is on education and youth, and are more or less client-centered. Programs aimed specifically at the present needs of the adult population are badly needed.

Backed rather solidly by public agencies, ABC has had, nevertheless, a mixed response in the community.

FIGHT, a local indigenous community organization, has been

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[19] Constitution of Action for a Better Community, Inc., Adopted by the Board of Directors, January 26, 1965.

[20] Progress Report, September, 1965; ABC, Inc.

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critical of ABC because it believes that the present programs have not reached the "grassroots". It feels that the poor are not adequately represented on the Board of Directors, nor on the Advisory Council. Board members do not include persons living in poverty areas, and Advisory Board members were appointed by members of community agencies, not elected by the poor people. FIGHT further feels that the Director of the anti-poverty program has been neither cooperative nor accessible.

From a review of the types of programs instituted by the ABC Corporation, and remarks by its director, it would appear that the answer to the basic question - whether the problems of the poor are caused by poverty or the poverty caused by the problems of the poor - has emphasized the problems of the poor as a cause rather than a result. It is our feeling that a better balance in answering that question, reflected in gainfully employing more poor persons in directing and carrying out programs, would add much to the effectiveness of our local ABC program. A great emphasis has been placed on education, and rightly so, but aspiration to education involves the development of hope. To those who say we've tried everything, we say - try really involving the poor parents - as earning members of the program.

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In December of 1964, the Board for Urban Ministry of the Rochester Area Council of Churches, with the approval of the Council's Board of Directors and the Council's Commission on Religion and Race issued a formal invitation to the Industrial Areas Foundation of Chicago to develop a community organization project in Rochester.[21] This followed some months of discussion and investigation by the Board for Urban Ministry, with denominational judicatories, with Negro clergymen of Rochester, and with other persons in the Negro community of Rochester.

One of the reasons for this invitation was the attitude expressed at the time of the riots, but known in previous months to it, that there was no really effective articulation of the needs of the poor in Rochester. Immediately after the riots the Board for Urban Ministry had been able to secure the services of some of the staff members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for a brief two weeks, in which time the SCLC staff was able to achieve temporary coalescence of the Negro community. After it was found that the services of SCLC would not be possible at that time, the Board looked elsewhere for help in attempting to meet the expressed need. The IAF organization was then seriously considered. It should be added here that an additional factor was present in this process - the feeling that superimposed programs would not meet the need felt by the Negro community for developing its own programs and leaders.

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[21] See Appendix.

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In the months that followed the December decision, the final decision to invite the IAF was submitted to the Negro clergy, along with petitions widely circulated through the poverty communities. The affirmative vote was large, and in June, 1965, an organizing convention took place. The IAF staff, working since March, 1965, had brought together 1,500 delegates, representing various religious, social, and fraternal groups of the Negro community, some of whom were organized specifically for the purpose of participation in the new community organization.

The delegates approved a platform, named themselves FIGHT (Freedom, Integration, God, Honor, Today), adopted a constitution, and elected officers.

With summer close at hand, they set about establishing themselves as spokesmen for the Negro community.

By September, 1965, they had:

A. Recognition by the City Officials of Rochester, that two 19-man committees elected by F.I.G.H.T. speak and negotiate with the City on all matters relating to the 3rd and 7th Wards Urban Renewal. Concessions have been given by the City that the new housing would be constructed at rent which displaced families can afford.

B. Intensive work has gone on in June, July, and August with the Negro youth gangs. Hundreds of man hours have been spent in meetings, consultations and on the scene with these leaders. On at least two occasions, the activities of F.I.G.H.T. members and staff have evaded a tense and possible violatile situation. There is now the foundation for a working relationship of trust and confidence between F.I.G.H.T. and 85% of the gang leaders. Particular attention was given during the early hours in the morning on most weekends to alleviate these potentially tense situations.

C. Jobs - F.I.G.H.T. has begun a job referral service listing the unemployed people of the community and their preferred skills. Fruits of this program will be felt this fall and winter.

Five meetings have been held with the management of a major Rochester industry.

F.I.G.H.T. has proposed a workable program where 150 to 175 men and women would be employed by Xerox for on-the-job training.

D. Housing - Negotiations have beenheld with slum landlords throughout the community. Four men have been picketed by over 100 representatives of F.I.G.H.T. on four occasions. Several other buildings have been fixed up through successful negotiations.

E. F.I.G.H.T. is preparing during the month of October a full fledged crash training program to prepare Negro men between the ages of 21 and 29 to pass patrolmen civil service exams.

There is only token integration in the Rochester Police Force and Fire Departments. This program is set to correct this imbalance. Future tranquility and successful race relations in Rochester depends greatly upon this venture.

F.I.G.H.T. has also submitted a proposal to the anti-poverty board on a broad and expanded level for all civil service jobs in Monroe County. It would be hoped that the unemployed and the under-employed under the auspices of F.I.G.H.T. would avail themselves of this opportunity.

F. Fund Raising - Approximately $1,000 has been raised by the member groups of F.I.G.H.T. A large part of the fall program will be spent in developing F.I.G.H.T.'s treasury up to $5,000 to $6,000.

G. Leadership Development - A large number of young people are learning basic skills - how to contact and involve new people, use of squad sheets and precision, necessity of an agenda and chairing of a meeting. They are learning how to negotiate with landlords, the police, city officials. Reflective qualities are tempering emotions and anger.

It is our judgment that substantial progress has been made toward establishing the principle of community organization in concrete expression. Progress has not been made without some mistakes and tension, but we believe that the outlook for the organization is good, as it develops greater strength and proficiency in handling the issues it encounters and greater skill in developing the ideas that emerge from its members.

We have briefly described the Rochester community, a community of relative affluence and stability. Let us now turn to some study of cultural deprivation in those communities which are the focus of the Rochester Anti-Poverty program.

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SECTION TWO: THE STUDY

Cultural Deprivation

Cultural deprivation is a phrase with a wide range of meanings. Depending on the perspective of its users, and the context of discussion, it can mean having some kind of internalized personality block or some lack of development of capacities (or even a lack of capacities) to perform or achieve various social skills. For example, lack of formal grade school education may be interpreted as a consequence of some internalized problem which prevents the person from successfully completing or taking advantage of the educational opportunity.

In other discussions, cultural deprivation can mean lacking the opportunities for, or being blocked from, participating in certain social experiences. Thus being a Southern born and raised Negro may mean being legally prevented from having the same school, church, economic and social experiences as Southern born and raised white persons, with the result that the Southern born Negro grows up in a different kind of dynamic social situation than does a white child in the same community.

Our use of the word "deprivation" will be in terms of lacking opportunities, or being blocked from opportunities, to have social experiences that are common to the people of the dominant society. It will also mean having certain attitudes toward these social experiences, and certain expectations regarding the self, others, and social institutions, which may perpetuate the social conditions which deny to

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the person experiences otherwise available to the members of the dominant group.

Another characteristic of cultural deprivation in our view is that it is a relative term. Thus if having a "whole" "intact" family to grow up in is a common experience of the dominant population, then persons growing up in a "partial" family would be deprived of this experience. The dynamic internal life and the dynamics of social interaction would be somewhat different for each group. We have assumed that there are a wide range of such experiences which may be denied to a person, and that the specific constellation of the denied experiences would be different for each person. Hence, to characterize a person as culturally deprived for us means only that he lacks several different kinds of experiences, and that these experiences are not only denied to him, but that they are generally denied to his primary groupings. Using this definition of cultural deprivation, we believed it would be possible to construct an instrument which could distinguish between those families who had children in the Head Start program and those families who had children eligible for the Head Start program, but who were not in it, requiring only that the latter live in the "ghetto" areas as the former. Our results would not be profiles of individuals, but would uncover the family situation.

The following specific factors, experiences, and attitudes were selected as characterizing culturally deprived families.

Attitudes of the family.

Attitudes toward the police, political parties, the church,

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and the Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse Programs were deemed important in assessing the atmosphere of the family relative to institutions which have an important and direct influence on their lives. For example, political parties attempt (through ward workers) to win the votes of the people through helping them solve their personal or community problems. We assumed that a response of "helpful" would indicate that the person had a feeling that the political party was a benign institutional force which had so evidenced itself in their own or other person's lives. Such a feeling or atmosphere would indicate further, that there was some sense of being recognized personally or as a community of persons important enough to be helped. We were aware that a halo effect could be present in these responses, but decided that the results could be discounted for such an effect.

On the other hand, we assumed that the response of "indifference" or "hostility" toward the political party indicated that the respondents did not feel that the political institution recognized them or their neighbors as persons who were important enough to be helped.

Underlying these assumptions is the belief that white persons in Rochester look upon the political party of their choice as an institution which is helpful in achieving solutions to those problems which they see as personal and/or community problems.

Therefore, the degree to which our respondents gave negative answers would be an indication of their feeling that the political party was not an instrument or institution which could be used as a resource in the solution of their personal or community problems.

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Attitudes toward the Police.

Policemen are generally assumed to be the servants of the dominant society. Their responsibility is to enforce the law, protect persons and property, and apprehend law-breakers. While the occupation is not generally considered to be of high status, it is our belief that the majority of the citizens of the dominant society see the police as helpful, and a great deal of effort by it is made to present the police to school children as "friendly". The degree to which our respondents would choose either of these choices would be some indication of their acceptance of the police in the same manner as the members of the dominant society.

On the other hand, a choice of "indifference" or "hostility" would be an indication of their feeling that they were not a part of the society that employs the police as its servants, and that the police are an instrument which is used to keep them in subservience to the dominant society.

The halo effect may also operate in this item in terms of "helpful" or "friendly", and reduce the negative responses of "indifferent" and "hostile".

Attitudes toward the Church.

We believed that the Church, of any faith, or sociological type, would be a strong institutional force in the lives of our respondents, and that the way in which our respondents perceived the Church would be an indication of their involvement in an institution of their community, and an indication of their perception of the Church as a resource in their lives. The term "helpful", was seen as a positive indication that the Church was a resource for theirs or others, problem-solving; the term "friendly" was viewed as an indicator that the Church offered positive social acceptance and an opportunity for social interaction; and the term "lively" was interpreted to mean that the church programs were numerous and interesting.

On the negative side, the terms "indifferent" or "dull" were taken to mean that the respondent did not perceive the church as a meaningful force in his life and that its activities held little or no interest for him. We assumed that such negative responses would be an indicator of deprivation of the experiences we thought to be common to their contemporaries.

The terms "active in Civil Rights" and "Teaches and Preaches about Heaven and Hell" were viewed as guides to the respondents' perception of their church's orientation to their lives. "Active in Civil Rights" was taken to mean that the respondent saw the church as an institution involved in the struggle for Civil Rights--a struggle we believed to be related to the respondent's present life and problems. "Teach and Preach Heaven and Hell" was taken to mean that the respondents perceived the church to be oriented toward an other-worldly view and offering less help with the problems and difficulties of their lives in the here and now.

Attitudes toward the Anti-Poverty Program of Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse.

Again we were seeking to establish a measurement of the attitudes of the respondents toward two major Anti-Poverty programs which were directed toward assisting children to overcome their supposed deprivation in pre-school learning experiences, or lack of encouragement or know how in studying. "Helpful" and "Friendly" were considered positive responses to these programs and indicative that the family attitudes were conducive to accepting the experiences in these programs as meaningful. "Indifferent" was deemed a negative response which would tend to deny the validity of the experiences to the child.

Expectations: Hopefulness and Pessism.

We believed that the expectations of the family toward the child's participation in the Head Start and the Lighted Schoolhouse Programs, toward the Anti-Poverty Program in general, toward their future situation, and toward their chances of getting out of the ghetto, would be an indication of hopefulness or pessimism, and that this in turn would effect the child's attitudes toward his experiences in the world outside his family.

We attempted to measure positive and negative expectations for the children, against the expectations for the self and family, expectations in general regarding the future, and expectations regarding a specific factor--living outside the ghetto. We thought that specific and general expectations would give some clue to the family attitudes of hopefulness or pessimism. We would expect that Head Start families

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would indicate more hopefulness than Non-Head Start families.

Head Start Information.

Discovering how people come to know about the things that might be of help to them would be important in determining how much contact they had with the dominant means of communication in our society.

We would expect that Head Start families would be more responsive to items communicated through the mass media than Non-Head Start families. We interpreted this matter of being in touch as an indication that the respondents felt that items of communication in the mass media were for them as well as for the majority of the society.

Socialization.

We assumed that the kinds of socializing experiences of the family would be indicative of the kinds of socializing experiences to which the child would be exposed. We thought it was important to differentiate between various levels of socialization related to the aggressiveness of the person to move toward other persons, and to the amount of personal involvement in the social interactional process. Hence, "movie going" is seen as an impersonal mingling with others in contrast to "visiting friends" which requires very personal interaction with others. Going to the "poolroom" or "dance" was seen as entering into somewhat more formally organized social activities than "visiting friends", and requiring a game skill, thus indicating some degree of cultural achievement. Going to a "bar" was interpreted to mean requiring less agressiveness than either "visiting friends" or going to the "poolroom" or "dance", but slightly more social interaction than

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the impersonal mingling with the movie-going crowd. "Attending Settlement House, School and Church Programs", is somewhat similar to "movie-going", in that it requires being a spectator and mingling in a crowd somewhat impersonally. It differs, however, in that there is usually some kind of direct or indirect involvement of a family member in the program being watched.

Political participation is another form of socialization which indicates some awareness and knowledge of the political institutions and its decision-making powers, combined with some type of aggressiveness directed toward participating in some aspect of the decision-making processes. Thus, "voting in an election" is one level of such participation; "voting in a primary election" is another level of participation, "belong to a Political Party's Ward Club" is still another level of participation. Having knowledge of the "name of the Ward Supervisor" and/or the "District's Councilman" indicates some awareness of the decision-making persons.

Education.

Formal schooling is generally thought to be necessary to participation in a wide range of society's experiences. Without a formal education, and/or the less one has, it is generally felt that one is relatively handicapped in the economic and social struggle. Our belief was that a measurement of the amount of formal education achieved would be a significant indicator of how well equipped a person was for participating in the economic and social experiences of the dominant group in society. We had no means of measuring the meaning of the

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educational level achieved, i.e. the quality of education received, and therefore had to content ourselves with the single measurement of grade level achievement.

Family Health.

In this item we sought to elicit a self-judgment regarding health status. We felt that this would give us an indication of how the respondents perceived themselves as capable of functioning well at the physical level.

Financial Status.

This was an effort to uncover the sources of family income, and whether or not the earned income actually gets to the family: Is economic deprivation due to unemployment or failure of the money earned to get home for family use? Also we wondered if the mother worked to supplement the income, and if community resources such as Aid to Dependent Children and Public Welfare were being used. We believed that this item would give us an indication of the family's participation in the economic life of the larger community.

Marital Status.

It is obviously true that the "whole" family (i.e. mother-father-children) is characteristic of the family life of most families in our society, and that such a family provides a living experience quite different from that of the "broken" family (i.e. where either mother or father or both are absent from the home). We wanted to investigate whether or not the family experiences of our respondents was like that of the majority of families, or to what extent they were deprived of the "whole family" as a cultural experience.

Sibling Relationships.

It was thought that the presence or absence of siblings in the home and the presence or absence of adult sibling in the home would round out the picture of the family environment of the child. The presence or absence of such siblings would increase or decrease the amount of social interaction of the child.

Speech Clarity.

Many times the speech characteristics of poverty people, especially Negroes, is pointed to as an indication of why they are culturally deprived--no one can understand what they are saying. We believed it would be useful to know how our indigenous interviewers judged the clarity of speech of the respondents. We believed that if they were not able to understand the speech of the respondents that this would confirm the view that speech is a factor in deprivation; but if they were able to understand the respondents speech, then speech is not a factor--and the factor might then be in either language patterns or in the listener.

Home Conditions.

Characteristic of many comments regarding culturally deprived persons is that which declares that they do not eat meals in any kind of minimum orderly fashion, that housekeeping is practically non-existent, that furnishings are inadequate and that rubbish is not properly contained

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and regularly removed. We thought that the evaluation of our indigenous interviewers regarding the housekeeping and condition of the furnishings would be useful in evaluating how these interviewers perceived these conditions, and that the respondent's answers to the questions regarding meals and waste disposal would be helpfulin determining the question of whether the respondents saw these as problems.

Mobility.

We believed that failure of a family to stay in one place long enough to establish relationships in some depth with neighbors, and to become familiar with the resources and opportunities of the community, would have the effect of depriving the children of experiences that come to those who have long-term roots in their community. However, it is common knowledge that Americans have grown increasingly mobile so that perhaps the factor of mobility alone is no longer a significant factor in cultural deprivation. Nevertheless we believed that we could not forego looking into this question to see whether or not it is a characteristic of the lives of our respondents. We would expect that Non-Head Start families would have shorter terms of residence and more inter-city mobility than Head Start families.

Living Quarters.

Culturally deprived persons are usually pictured as living in over-crowded quarters, and often inmultiple dwellings. We sought to know what kind of quarters our respondents lived in, to see if they conformed to this pattern and to determine, along with other factors, if this appears to be a characteristic of cultural deprivation.

The Research Design.

Our instrument was developed to measure various experiences the lack of which we thought would be characteristic of cultural deprivation and attitudes which we thought would characterize cultural deprivation.

The experimental group, consisted of eight families from each of five different Head Start programs located primarily in the Negro ghetto areas of Rochester. The Head Start Centers were located at St. Bridgett's Roman Catholic Church, Public School #6, Montgomery Neighborhood Center, Public School #3, and Lewis Street Center. A matching group of families living in the same areas were searched out by our indigenous interviewers. These families also had a child who would have been eligible to participate in the Head Start program, but who did not. The variable we sought to control was the factor of participation in the Head Start program. The constant factor was that both groups of families lived within the same geographical area, and since these were largely "Negro ghetto areas", and our interviewers were indigenous to those areas, we assumed that our control group, which we call the Non-Head Start families, could be expected to fall into the general category of poverty families or culturally deprived families. As our study shows, we were justified in making this assumption.

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Recruitment and Training of Interviewers for Study

Six persons were carefully selected to do the job of interviewing heads of families for this independent study. These persons were indigenous to the studied communities, which was important to the study, as some questions of personal nature were included in the interview instrument. The interviewers were initially oriented and trained by members of the study team, the research consultant in particular. Three interviewers were assigned to interview families living in the Third Ward and three interviewers were assigned to interview families residing in the Seventh Ward area. Five follow-up training and report sessions were held with each interviewer by one member of the study team.

In terms of work experience, all six interviewers were employed in short-term government-funded, indigenous, summer detached-worker programs. The primary objective of the detached-worker programs was to serve inner-city teenagers through the means of athletic activities and trips to various places of interest. Subsequently these workers (interviewers) became leaders of organized groups of teenagers and worked under the supervision of full-time detached workers through the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. of Rochester and Monroe County and the Youth Board of Rochester and Monroe County.

The individual backgrounds of the workers varied mainly in terms of age, marital status, and educational level. The ages

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of the interviewers ranged from 17 to 24. Four of them are single men living at home, while the other two are married, one with two children of his own. Three of them are high school dropouts and the other two have completed two years of college training. (All six interviewers are Negroes who have been reared in the inner city of Rochester)

12295

SECTION THREE: ANALYSIS

ANALYSIS

I. Attitudes Toward Political Party

Non-Head Start		Head Start
66.6%	Helpful	60.7%
33.3%	Indifferent	39.3%
0	Hostile	0

No significant difference between Head Start and Non-Head Start families.

If "Helpful" is discounted as having some halo effect, there is a large area of indifference toward Political Parties. The results indicate support for our thesis. Something approaching half of the respondents in both groups indicated negative attitudes, "Indifferent" attitudes, this supports our theory that political parties are not looked upon as resources by culturally deprived people.

II. Attitudes Toward Police

% of Total # of Responses

Non-Head Start		Head Start
33.3%	Helpful	40.9%
27.3%	Friendly	27.3%
33.3%	Indifferent	22.7%
6.1%	Hostile	9.1%

More Head Start families saw the Police as both "Friendly" and "Helpful" than did Non-Head Start families. More Head Start families were "Indifferent" or "Hostile" to the Police than were Non-Head Start families.

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The differences are not very great but the fact that there is more hostility expressed by the Head Start group than the Non-Head Start group may indicate the Head Start group is more aggressive in expressing its feelings about the Police than the Non-Head Start group and this taken in conjunction with the responses in socialization may support the view that Head Start families have a more outgoing aggressive kind of life than the Non-Head Start families. Though the differences between the Head Start and Non-Head Start group are not very great it would appear that a majority of both the Head Start and Non-Head Start groups do not see the police as "Helpful" or "Friendly". Though the differences between the two groups are not very great it is obvious that there is no enthusiasm for the police in terms of "Helpfulness" or "Friendliness" on the part of either group. This supports our thesis since less than half of both groups did not express the attitude that the police were "Helpful", only about a quarter of either group saw the police as "Friendly", and about one quarter of both groups indicated that they saw thepolice as "Friendly".

III. Attitudes Toward the Church

% of Respondents answering each item

Non-Head Start (35)		Head Start (28)
62.8% (22)	Helpful	78.6% (22)
48.5% (17)	Active in Civil Rights	67.1% (17)
20.0% (7)	Friendly	24.1% (6)
51.4% (18)	Lively	57.1% (16)
11.4% (4)	Indifferent	14.3% (4)
5.7% (2)	Dull	0 (0)
68.5% (24)	Teach-Preach Heaven-Hell	67.9% (19)
0 (0)	Hostile	0 (0)

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Non-Head Start responses showed fewer positive responses to the Church as "Helpful","Friendly", or "Lively". On the negative side they showed slightly less indifference and greater negative attitude toward the Church as "Dull". Neither group expressed hostility toward the church. When an average for the responses to "Helpful", "Friendly", and "Lively", is taken for each group, the result is 44.7% for the Non-Head Start families and 53.3% for the Head Start families. This points toward an attitude which is not strongly positive toward the church. On the average the positive responses were half or less than half of the total possible number, and if the halo factor is working here, which is likely, then there is even less of a positive attitude toward the church in both groups with the Non-Head Start group being the least positive.

There were very few responses to the negative terms. No one in either group chose "Hostile"; no one in the Head Start group selected "Dull"; only 5.7% of the Non-Head Start group selected "Dull"; and a few more percentage-wise of the Head Start group selected "Indifferent" as over and against the Non-Head Start group (14.3% vs. 11.4% respectively). It would appear that the halo effect worked to reduce the number of negative responses.

What is outstanding about these responses is the large difference between the number of responses made to seeing the church as "Helpful", and the relatively few responses to seeing the church as "Friendly". When we compare the responses to the item "Friendly" with

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responses to the same item in attitudes toward the Police and attitudes toward the Lighted Schoolhouse and the Head Start programs, it is clearly evident that the number of responses is very low. When placed in juxtoposition with the responses to the item "Helpful" in attitudes toward the Police, the Church, and Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse programs, it would appear that both Head Start and Non-Head Start people see these institutions or programs as being a "help" to them or their neighbors, but they have no strong feelings of "friendliness" toward, or "friendliness" from, these same institutions or programs. In terms of our thesis regarding "friendly", it appears that church is not seen as a source of positive social acceptance to any great extent, or as an opportunity for social interaction to any great extent.

This appears to be true not only of the church but also of the Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse programs, and hence, tends to bear out our thesis (even though the negative responses of "dull", "indifferent", and "hostile" are not very great) that the respondents do not look toward the church, or to the Head Start or to the Lighted Schoolhouse programs, as agencies in which they participate in the culture experiences.

Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell is interpreted as an emphasis on escape from this world along with non-involvement. The responses indicate, at the least, that both groups of respondents were significantly aware of the Church's message as being escapist. There was no significant difference between the responses to the categories "Active in Civil Rights" and "Teach and Preach Heaven and Hell". When the responses were broken down in an attempt to see if those who

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saw the church as "Active in Civil Rights", we found that the item did not distinguish between these two groups.

Our thesis was that if they chose "Active in Civil Rights" they were not likely to choose "Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell", but the results showed that those who chose "Active in Civil Rights" also chose "Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell". So therefore, the item did not clarify this kind of view of the church as escapist or as involved in this world's problems. Specifically, 46.4% of the Head Start respondents indicated they saw the church in both aspects, i.e. "Active in Civil Rights" and "Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell". Only 14.3% of the Head Start respondents saw the church as "Active in Civil Rights" but not in "Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell" and only 10.7% of the Head Start respondents saw the church as "Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell" but not "Active in Civil Rights". For the Non-Head Start respondents 37% saw the church as "Active in Civil Rights" and "Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell". 8.6% saw the church as "Active in Civil Rights" but not "Teaching and Preaching Heaven and Hell" and 31.4% saw the church as "Preaching and Teaching Heaven and Hell". Our thesis was not supported by this response.

IV. Attitude Toward Lighted Schoolhouse and Head Start

Non-Head Start			Head Start	
L.S.	Hd. St.		Hd. St.	L.S.
43.8%	39.4%	Helpful	75%	59.3%
9.4%	27.3%	Friendly	21.4%	18.5%
6.2%	6.1%	Indifferent	3.6%	3.7%
40.6%	27.3%	Not Known	3.6%	18.5%

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66.7% of the Non-Head Start responses were positive (Helpful-Friendly) as compared to 96.4% positive responses by the Head Start group. There is, however, a striking difference between the two positive responses of both groups to both programs as noted in the discussion on Attitudes Toward the Church, the respondents saw the Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse programs as "Helpful", but not as "Friendly". The responses of the Head Start group were 3.5 times greater for "Helpful" than for "Friendly" for the Head Start program. For the Lighted Schoolhouse program "Helpful" was selected 3.2 times more often than "Friendly".

This same difference existed in the Non-Head Start group's choices for the Lighted Schoolhouse program--4.7 times greater for "Helpful" than for "Friendly". The Non-Head Start groups choices for the Head Start program were not quite as great--1.4 times greater for "Helpful" than for "Friendly".

While the Non-Head Start choices are not very high--showing their lack of interest or knowledge of these programs, nevertheless, the results add weight to the conclusion that of the Head Start and Non-Head Start respondents who see these programs as "Helpful", few see them as gateways to social participation in the culture, i.e. "friendly".

There were not enough responses to "Indifferent" to support the thesis that such responses would tend to deny the validity of the experiences to the child.

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Obviously, contact with the Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse programs had the effect of raising the positive responses and decreasing the negative responses of the Head Start group. Conversely, Non-Head Start families are less in touch with and hence more negative toward these same programs.

V. Expectations Toward Child's Participation in Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse

Non-Head Start		Head Start
43.75%	Expect a Great Deal	46.8%
31.25%	" Little	32.1%
25.0%	Some	.4%
0	Worse	0
0	Much Worse	0

Neither group expect their child's actual or possible participation in the Head Start program to result in a change for the worse. But expected change on a significant level (a Great Deal or a Little) is nearly the same for both groups. This indicates that the actual participation of the child in the program doesn't raise the level of expectations in the Head Start respondents, and that a single program for children is sufficient only to reduce the underlying feelings that nothing is ever going to be any different. The Non-Head Start responses bear this out. 25% see things remaining the same for their child, whereas, the Head Start respondents show less than one percent response to this item.

That 3/4 of both groups expect some change for the better is a testimony to the human tendency to hope for better things for the children, however gloomy the present may be.

VI. Expectations Regarding Anti-Poverty Program

Non-Head Start	will help	Head Start
44.2%	child	44.1%
20.9%	you	22.0%
34.9%	family	33.9%

In this item we see that the greatest expectations are for the child, the next greatest for the family and least expectations are for the self. The differentiation between the two groups on this item is extremely small.

VII. Expectations for the Future

Non-Head Start		Head Start
97.0%	Better	99.0%
0	Same	0
0	Worse	0

Non-Head Start	Total Possible Response		Total Possible Response	Head Start
	(35)	Ghetto	(28)	
29.2%	(26) 74.2%	Better	(23) 82.1%	31.1%
35.9%	(32) 91.4%	Improved	(25) 89.2%	33.8%
34.9%	(31) 88.5%	will be better 5 yrs. from now	(26) 92.8%	35.1%

In the more specific and practical question of their chances of getting out of the ghetto, we see no significant difference between the two groups, both are pessimistic. This is based on the fact that no percentage of the positive response is above 35.9%.

All 3 items fail to support our thesis that Head Start families would show more positive responses indicating greater hopefulness than Non-Head Start families. The evidence tends to support the view that the Head Start program had no real effect in raising hopes for a better life now or in the future.

VIII. Head Start Information from

Non-Head Start		Head Start
41.2%	Word of Mouth	31.7%
2.9%	Radio	9.8%
38.2%	TV	26.8%
17.7%	Other	31.7%

Non-Head Start respondents showed that the two major sources of information regarding Head Start program were by "word-of-mouth" (41.2%) and T.V. (38.2%). Head Start families received as much information about Head Start programs from "other" sources (31.7%) as they did by "word-of-mouth" (31.7%), with T.V. (26.8%) nearly as great a source. Of 33 Non-Head Start respondents who were asked this item, 2/3, or 22, had some information about the Head Start program in one or more of the above mentioned ways. 1/3, or 11, had not had any information about the Head Start program.

This supports our thesis that Head Start families are more responsive to the mass communication media than Non-Head Start families.

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IX. Socialization

yes responses only
as a % of total interviews

Head Start		Non-Head Start
82.1% of total interviews	Church Member	71.4%
75.0%	Knows Pastor	51.4%
17.9%	Lodge Member	14.2%
3.6%	Other Org.	2.8%
75.0%	Movies	68.6%
32.1%	Bar	31.4%
14.3%	Pool Room	14.2%
96.4%	Visit Friends	77.1%
25.0%	Dance	37.1%
10.7%	Settlement House Prog.	14.2%
46.4%	School	34.3%
46.4%	Church	42.9%
67.9%	Vote Primary	42.9%
78.6%	Vote Reg.	57.1%
42.9%	Ward Club Member	11.4%
60.7%	Knows Supervisor	37.1%
32.1%	Knows Council	25.7%

This measurement was an effort to discover what kind of relationships with other persons characterized the lives of Head Start and Non-Head Start families. Into what kind of groups did these people enter? What kinds of individually initiated social activities did they undertake? To what extent were they active in political affairs?

Our instrument reveals that the group life of the Head Start families is somewhat greater than that of the Non-Head Start families. The local church furnishes the major source of group life, with 82.1% of Head Start families claiming membership and 75% being able to name thepastor, as an indication of their actual participation.

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A majority of the Non-Head Start families also claim membership in a local church (71.4%) but only 51.4% indicate actual participation by being able to name the pastor. If knowing the pastor is taken as the criterion of actual participation in the life of the church group, then nearly half again as many Head Start families are active in church group life as Non-Head Start families.

Membership in a lodge or other organization was relatively small, but there was 26% more participation in lodges by Head Start families than by Non-Head Start families.

Our measurement of participation in individually initiated social activities was designed to uncover the aggressiveness of our families in moving out of the home toward other people. As stated in our discussion of the thesis for this item, "movie going" is seen as an impersonal mingling with others in contrast to "visiting friends" which requires very personal interaction with others. Going to the "poolroom" or "dance" was seen as entering into somewhat more formally organized social activities than visiting friends, and requiring a game skill, thus indicating some degree of cultural achievement. Going to a "bar" was interpreted to mean requiring less aggressiveness than either "visiting friends" or going to the "poolroom" or "dance", but slightly more social interaction than the impersonal mingling with the movie going crowd.

The tables show a strongly consistent pattern of greater social participation and interaction in all types of social situations

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by Head Start families than by Non-Head Start families. On the highest level of aggressive social interaction, "visiting friends", 96.4% of the Head Start families do so compared with 77.1% of the Non-Head Start families.

On the second level of social interaction, "poolroom" and "dance", there is no difference in the former, but in the latter, more Non-Head Start families participated, 37.1% to 25%.

On the third level of social interaction, "going to a Bar", the difference is slight and involves about 1/3 of each group. "Going to the movies", on the fourth level of social interaction, more Head Start families participate (75.0%) than Non-Head Start families (68.6%) though this differential may be due to a more stringent economic situation (see discussion of Financial State, p. 42).

We also stated in our thesis discussion of this item, "Attending Settlement House, School and Church Programs", as somewhat similar to "movie-going", in that it requires being a spectator and mingling in a crowd somewhat impersonally. It differs, however, in that there is usually some kind of direct or indirect involvement of a family member in the program being watched. Again our results show that Head Start families participate to a greater degree than Non-Head Start families in School (46.4% vs. 34.3%) and in Church (46.4% vs. 42.9%) programs. In Settlement House Programs the situation is reversed, with Non-Head Start families showing a slightly greater degree of participation (14.2%) than Head Start families (10.7%). What is more significant than this reversal

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of positions, is that the Settlement House programs run a very poor third in engaging either group.

We further stated in our thesis discussion of this item, political participation is another form of socialization which indicates some awareness and knowledge of the political institutions and its decision-making powers, combined with some type of aggressiveness directed toward participating in some aspect of the decision-making processes. Thus, "voting in an election" is one level of such participation; "voting in a primary election" is another level of participation; "belonging to a Political Party's Ward Club" is another level of participation. Having knowledge of the "name of the Ward Supervisor" and/or the "District's Councilman" indicates some awareness of the decision-making persons.

The data shows that more Head Start families participate and/or are aware of the political processes and political decision-makers than the Non-Head Start families. The differencesin participation on each item ranged from 6.4% in knowing your Councilman to 25% in Voting in the Primary election--all in favor of greater participation by the Head Start families.

It seems clear, then, that whatever the type of social involvement or interaction, significantly more Head Start families participate in a social life outside their homes than do the Non-Head Start families.

In addition to the foregoing, it is apparent that Head Start families showed more involvement in the mainstream of the culture; as for example, in their responses to information sent out through the mass media. Furthermore, Head Start families' attitudes toward political party, police, Church, Lighted Schoolhouse, and Head Start programs, shows a greater response as "helpful" than did Non-Head Start families. There is an element of socialization in this attitude in that participation requires more individual aggression.

X. Education

Non-H.S.				Head Start		
Fa. (35)	Mo. (34)	Other Ad. (14)		Fa. (28)	Mo. (26)	Other Ad. (13)
0	0	0	Can't read	0	0	0
0	0	7.2%	Primary	0	3.9%	0
5.7%	8.9%	0	Junior	3.6%	0	8.4%
25.7%	20.6%	21.4%	Jr. Hi.	10.7%	15.4%	15.1%
62.8%	61.8%	57.1%	Sr. Hi.	64.3%	53.8%	38.4%
2.9%	5.8%	14.3%	College	10.7%	15.4%	15.1%
2.9%	2.9%	0	Grad.	10.7%	11.5%	23.0%

Head Start fathers showed a higher educational level than Non-Head Start. 85.7% had reached a high school educational level or better, whereas only 68.6% of Non-Head Start fathers achieved these levels. However, the percentage figures indicate that more than half the fathers in both Head Start and Non-Head Start families had achieved a High School education, at least, and that a discernable number had had some higher education. The difference in the level of achievement begins to show more clearly at the college level. The greater participation of the Head Start families in the social life might possibly be related to this fact of greater educational achievement and thus tends to support our thesis that education is related to wider participation in society.

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In the case of Head Start mothers, a similar pattern emerges. 80.7% of Head Start mothers reached a high school educational level or better, and 70.5% of Non-Head Start mothers reached high school or better. Again, our sub-thesis that persons of Head Start families have achieved higher levels of education than persons of Non-Head Start families is supported by the higher percentage for Head Start mothers.

Other adults (over 15) in the household showed a lesser degree of difference in achievement. In Head Start families, those persons who attained High School education or better come to 76.5%, while Non-Head Start adults showed 71.4%. Both Head Start and Non-Head Start persons in these categories showed a fairly high level of achievement, and in Head Start families 38% of the "other adults" were college graduates or better. Our thesis is supported.

Overall, the number of parents indicating a high school education or better is somewhat striking, and suggests that lower educational achievement of parents may not be as widespread as is generally thought. This overall high level of achievement does not correlate well with the generally low level of participation by the "culturally deprived" in the activities of our society. Education is considered of high value in our culture, and is related to other economic and status factors; however, a high school education, while it may be adjudged inadequate, would seem to open more avenues than appear to be open to the culturally deprived. The overall achievement indicated by the data, then, would tend not to support our main theory, that educational achievement is a significant indication of the ability of the person to participate in the experiences of the dominant society.

XI. Speech Clarity

Non-Head Start		Head Start
20.0%	Very Clear	28.6%
54.3%	Clear	53.6%
22.8%	Understandable, but not clear	7.1%

This segment depended heavily upon the interviewer's judgment. According to that judgment, clarity of speech was not a distinguishing factor between the two groups, with 3/4's ore more of both groups judged to have "clear" or "very clear" speech. Non-Head Start families showed a higher percentage of understandable, but not clear, speech (Non-H.S.-22.8% as opposed to H.S.-7.1%) as might possibly be expected, since educational levels did differ, somewhat. We had theorized that Non-Head Start families would show a higher degree of communication. It is also possible that the generally longer periods of residence in Rochester of the Head Start group, combined with the fact that our interviews were long time residents in Rochester, made it easier for them to understand each other; whereas 25% of the Non-Head Start group had been in Rochester less than 5 years indicating a shorter period of time for this group to incorporate the "Rochester accents" into their speech.

XII. Family Health

Non-Head Start				Head Start		
Fa.	Mo.	Child.		Fa.	Mo.	Child.
34.4%	31.4%	37.1%	Excellent	14.3%	25.0%	22.2%
65.6%	60.0%	57.1%	Good	78.6%	71.4%	70.4%
0	5.7%	5.7%	Fair	7.1%	3.6%	7.4%
0	2.9%	0	Poor	0	0	0

It would appear that families involved in this study generally considered their health to be good. Responses of "good-to-excellent"

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health were at least 10 times greater than "fair-to-poor" for both Non-Head Start and Head Start families. The self-judgment of Non-Head Start families was, however, more positive than that of Head Start families, since their responses of "excellent" ranged higher consistently for mothers, fathers, and children. Our thesis that Non-Head Start families would judge their health to be poorer than Head Start families would judge themselves to be, is not borne out by the data. And, beyond this, does not coincide with the view sometimes held by members of the dominant society, that the poor are in poor health.

The self-judgments of health status of the respondents reveals that more Non-Head Start mothers judged themselves to be in "fair" or "poor" health than Head Start mothers.

Contrary to the health reports of the Head Start program, the Head Start respondents judged themselves and their children to be in Good to Excellent health; Non-Head Start respondents were more optimistic in their self judgments of Excellent health.

XIII. Financial Status

Non-Head Start		Head Start
57.1%	Father works	75.0%
51.4%	Money brought home	75.0%
11.4%	Part of Money gets home	10.8%
28.4%	No money gets home	25.0%
37.1%	Mother works to supplement income	32.1%
11.4%	Child Care	7.1%
0	type	
7.1%	Mother alone works, income inadequate	17.9%
0	A.D.C. help	7.1%
2.8%	Welfare Help	10.8%
0	Other	3.6%

Data on financial status of families interviewed showed

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that only a bit more than half of Non-Head Start fathers worked and brought money home, while three-fourths of Head Start fathers did. In both groups, in approximately one-fourth cases, no money was brought home. Mothers in Head Start families showed a higher degree of employment as supplementary or sole wage earners than did Non-Head Start mothers. Head Start families received more help from A.D.C., Welfare, and other sources than Non-Head Start families. The facts that fewer Non-Head Start fathers are employed, that less money gets home, and less support is given the family through the mother or public and private resources, tends to support our thesis that Head Start families are better able to make use of community financial resources.

Significantly more Head Start respondents use community resources (A.D.C., Welfare and others) for family support than do Non-Head Start respondents. This may be related to length of residence in Rochester (Non-Head Start respondents have been in residence for shorter periods of time) and to lower levels of socialization (Non-Head Start respondents were less aggressive in all types of social interaction). It might also be related to education as well, since there are certain financial obligations related to school attendance, etc. The point is that almost all the factors examined have a financial aspect, and where there is a lack of money, the incidence of lower participation is almost predictable.

It is our judgment that the lack of sufficient income is the real base of many of the problems of the poor, and addresses itself quite forthrightly to the basic issue of whether poverty is caused by the problems of the poor, or whether the problems of the poor are caused by the poverty. Probably, it is both; but the emphasis on education, which has greater future implications than present possibilities, could conceivably be questioned as the base for an anti-poverty program.

XIV. Marital Status

Non-Head Start		Head Start
57.5%	Married	82.1%
9.1%	Separated	7.1%
6.1%	Divorced	3.6%
9.1%	Deceased	3.6%
18.2%	Common Law	3.6%

There were significant differences in the number of "whole" marriages: 82.1% in Head Start, as opposed to 57.5% for Non-Head Start. 9.1% of marriages in Non-Head Start showed a partner deceased, as opposed to 3.6% in Head Start where the same condition prevails; and 18.2% common law marriages in the Non-Head Start group, as opposed to 3.6% common law marriages in the Head Start group.

Non-Head Start families have suffered more defeat and disaster in marital relations than Head Start families. Thus 28% more are separated; twice as many were divorced; three times as many had suffered the loss of a marital partner by death, and nearly six times as many were involved in the tenuousness of common law liaisons.

The point is substantiated by noting that 42.5% of the Non-Head Start families had experienced such defeat and disaster as compared with 17.9% Head Start families.

12317

Our assumption, then, that data would show a greater incidence of broken homes among Non-Head Start families is clearly borne out.

XV. Sibling Relationships

Non-Head Start (33)		Head Start (28)
66.7% (22)	Brother home	78.6% (22)
63.6% (21)	Sister home	67.9% (19)
6.1% (2)	Brother/Sister deceased	7.1% (2)
45.5% (15)	Brother away	57.1% (16)
(10)	Brother single	(11)
(8)	Brother married	(12)
57.5% (19)	Sister away	46.4% (13)
(9)	Sister single	(10)
(11)	Sister married	(5)

More Head Start youngsters had siblings (brother and/or sister) living in the home than did Non-Head Start youngsters. (78.6% to 66.7%, a difference of 11.9%). The differences between the groups in siblings living away from home, or in having a deceased sibling was negligible.

If having siblings in the home provides an increased amount of social interaction, with expanded opportunities for role experimentation and role imitations, (as we believe it does) then the Head Start youngsters have--as a group--some advantage over the Non-Head Start youngsters, and to this extent the Non-Head Start youngsters are more deprived.

XVI. Meals

Non-Head Start		Head Start
28.6%	three meals	46.4%
62.9%	two meals	50.0%
8.6%	one meal	0
2.9%	irregular	10.7%
20.0%	balanced diet	25.0%

Less than half of families in either situation had all three meals served at table. Highest percentage for both groups (H.S.-50% -- Non-H.S.-62.9%) indicated that two meals are served as a family, and one served some other way. The question of regularity was apparently not handled too well be interviewers, raw data showed, so it is not reliable. Both groups showed at least 25% had balanced diets. Data on health patterns of families interviewed would bear this out, if the indicators are accurate. In this small universe, then, families were apparently healthy and adequately fed.

XVII. How long in Rochester

A Ranked Order of Responses

Non-Head Start

3 mos.
11 mos.
1 yr.
2 yrs.
3 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
5 yrs. 1st quartile
5 yrs.
6 yrs.
6 yrs.
8 yrs.
9 yrs.
9 yrs.
9 yrs.
10 yrs.
10 yrs. mean
11 yrs.
11 yrs.
11 yrs.
13 yrs.
17 yrs.
17 yrs.
18 yrs.
19 yrs.
20 yrs.
23 yrs.
23 yrs.
life
life
life
life
life

mean 10 years
range 3 mos. to 23 yrs. & life
principle modes life (6)
4 yrs. (3)
9 yrs. (3)
11 yrs. (3)

Head Start

1 year
5 years
5 years
6 years
6 years
7 years
8 years
8 years
8 years 1st quartile
9 years
9 years
10 years
10 years
10 years
13 years
13 years
15 years mean
15 years
15 years
15 years
17 years
18 years
18 years
18 years
19 years
19 years 3rd quartile
24 years
24 years
30 years
30 years
30 years
life
life
life
life

mean 15 years
range 1 yr. to 30 yrs. & life
principle modes life
15 yrs.
8 yrs.
10 yrs.
18 yrs.
30 yrs.

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How Long in Present Quarters

Non-Head Start

3 mos.
6 mos.
6 mos.
6 mos.
10 mos.
11 mos.
1 yr.
1 yr. 1st quartile
1½ yrs.
1½ yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs. mean
3 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
5 yrs.
5 yrs.
5 yrs.
6 yrs.
6 yrs. 3rd quartile
6 yrs.
8 yrs.
8 yrs.
8 yrs.
12 yrs.
12 yrs.
13 yrs.
14 yrs.

Principle modes 3 yrs. (5)
5 yrs. (3)
8 yrs. (3)

Range 3 mos. - 14 yrs.

Head Start

1 yr.
1 yr.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs. 1st quartile
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
5 yrs.
5 yrs.
6 yrs. mean
7 yrs.
7 yrs.
7 yrs.
7 yrs.
7 yrs.
7 yrs.
7 yrs.
9 yrs.
9 yrs. 3rd quartile
10 yrs.
10 yrs.
10 yrs.
10 yrs.
10 yrs.
14 yrs.
14 yrs.
15 yrs.
22 yrs.

Principle modes 7 yrs. (7)
3 yrs. (5)
10 yrs. (5)
2 yrs. (4)

Range 1 yrs. - 22 yrs.

How long in last quarters

Non-Head Start

none
none
11 mos.
1 yr.
1½ yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs. 1st quartile
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs. mean
3 yrs.
3½ yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
5 yrs. 3rd quartile
5 yrs.
6 yrs.
6 yrs.
9 yrs.
9 yrs.
14 yrs.
17 yrs.

Head Start

don't know
1 yr.
1 yr.
1 yr.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs.
2 yrs. 1st quartile
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
3 yrs.
4 yrs. mean
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4 yrs.
4½ yrs.
5 yrs.
5 yrs. 3rd quartile
5 yrs.
5 yrs.
5 yrs.
8 yrs.
10 yrs.
10 yrs.
11 yrs.
11 yrs.

Principle mode	2 yrs.	Principle mode	3 yrs.
Range	11 mos. - 17 yrs. plus 2 none	Range	1 - 11 yrs. plus don't know

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How many places in Rochester

Non-Head Start	Head Start
1	1
1	2
1	2
1	2
1	2
1	2
1	2
2	2
2 1st quartile	2 1st quartile
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
2	2
2 mean	2
2	3 mean
3	3
3	3
3	3
3	3
3	3
3	3
4 3rd quartile	3
4	4 3rd quartile
4	4
4	4
4	4
4	4
4	not know
5	not know
5	not know
5	not know

	Non-Head Start		Head Start
Principle mode	2 (12)	Principle mode	2 (17)
Range	1 - 5	Range	1 - 4 and don't know

Non-Head Start families have been in Rochester for shorter periods of time, ranging from 3 months to 23 years plus 6 (17%) who were born here. The mean number of years is 10, and the first quartile is 5 years.

Head Start families have been in Rochester for longer periods of time, ranging from 1 year to 30 years, plus 5 (14%) who were born here. The mean number of years is 15 (1/3rd greater than the Non-Head Start families), and the first quartile is 8 years, 60% longer than the Non-Head Start families.

The same picture appears with regard to length of present residency. Non-Head Start families have been living in their present quarters for shorter periods of time than the Head Start families. Their occupancy ranges from 3 months to 14 years with a mean of 3 years, and a first quartile of 1 year. Head Start families have occupied their present living quarters ranging from 1 year (4 times as long as the shortest period for Non-Head Start families) to 22 years (1/3 again as long as the longest period for Non-Head Start families). Head Start families mean occupancy is 6 years (twice as long as Non-Head Start families), and the first quartile was 3 years (3 times that of Non-Head Start families).

Our instrument failed to distinguish whether the length of time in the previous residence was in Rochester, or elsewhere, hence the results are questionnable, so far as they apply to residency in Rochester. However, so far as residency anywhere is concerned, the Head Start families had somewhat longer periods of residency in their previous

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residence (a mean of 4 years, with a range of one to eleven years, and a first quartile of 2 years) than the Non-Head Start families whose mean was 3 years (25% less) and whose range was 11 months to 17 years (8-1/3% less than Head Start minimum, but 55% longer than the maximum residential time of Head Start families). The first quartiles are the same for each group. The differences in this respect are not as clear, but the usefulness of this information seems questionnable in the light of its relevance to question of the effect of present social conditions on cultural deprivation.

Much the same thing must be said of the results of the question of how many places of residence in Rochester. However, Non-Head Start families have lived in a total of 92 residences compared with 79 residences for Head Start families (excluding the 4 respondents who answered "don't know"). We can only speculate that these four probably lived in 4 or more different places, in which case the numerical advantage would rest with the Head Start families. This, however, is to be expected since the Head Start families have been living in Rochester for alonger period of time, and hence have had a greater opportunity (in terms of time) to move more often. Our expectation, then, that Non-Head Start families had had shorter terms of residence in Rochester, with greater inter-city mobility is supported by the data.

Length of residency in and of itself is not a decisive factor in establishing a measurement of cultural deprivation of the familial groups in which the child lives, for obviously there were some Head Start families who lived in Rochester and in their present residence no longer

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than some Non-Head Start families. But with one exception, Head Start families were in residence in Rochester a minimum of five years, whereas the first quartile of Non-Head Start families were in residence less than five years. The familiarity or strangeness of an urban culture seems to be one factor in cultural deprivation. However, we need to look further for reasons to account for the other 75% of Non-Head Start families non-participation in the Head Start program, since this 75% was in residence from 5 years to 23 years with six being life long residents.

XVIII. Home Conditions

The data concerning physical conditions in the homes was also the interviewer's personal judgment. It is our judgment that its use ought to be "guarded" or cautionary as an indicator. We were trying to determine what effect, if any, the physical surroundings had on the interviewers judgment concerning the relative cleanliness of respondents homes. Obviously, their perception did not fit stereotype concerning the relative cleanliness of the culturally deprived.

Non-Head Start		Head Start
14.4%	Neat	17.8%
68.6%	Clean	75.0%
17.1%	Moderately Messy	17.8%
2.9%	Dirty	0

These judgments of home conditions do not distinguish significantly between Head Start and Non-Head Start families.

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Furnishings*

Non-Head Start		Head Start
8.6%	New	17.8%
28.6%	Relatively New	32.1%
48.6%	Old and New	42.1%
20.0%	Broken	25.0%
34.3%	Table	53.6%
31.4%	Chairs	57.1%
42.9%	Sofa	57.1%
45.7%	Beds	60.7%

Head Start families showed consistently better furnishings, percentage-wise. (H.S.-49.9% "new" or "relatively new", as opposed to 37.2% Non-H.S. "new" or "relatively new") The difference may be accounted for by the differential in Financial Status where 75% of the Head Start fathers work and bring home their paychecks as against 57.1% of the Non-Head Start fathers working and 51.4% bring home their paychecks (see p. 64).

Utilities*

Non-Head Start		Head Start
65.7%	Kitchen equipped	82.1%
65.7%	Stove	67.8%
74.3%	Refrigerator	78.6%
71.4%	Heat	42.9%
77.1%	Gas	78.6%
71.4%	Electricity	42.9%

Waste Disposal

Non-Head Start		Head Start
48.6%	Rubbish	53.6%
42.9%	Containers	60.7%
20.0%	Containers easily accessible	14.3%
42.9%	Regular pick-up	53.6%

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*The responses to these items of the instrument were not clear, and therefore the data is not useable.

SECTION FOUR: FINDINGS

Findings

I. Family Attitudes.

A. Political parties.

Data suggested that both groups had considerable indifference to political parties, whose decisions are generally conceded to have influence in determining the character of community life. This indifference is supported by the findings in data regarding Head Start and Non-Head Start families' level of involvement in community life, as measured under "Socialization". However, and importantly, the same data clearly showed greater participation (by voting in elections) in political affairs by Head Start families than by Non-Head Start families. Thus, despite a common indifference, Non-Head Start families showed greater deprivation in this area.

B. Police.

Head Start families tended to exhibit more positive attitudes towards police than Non-Head Start families. However, this finding must be weighed against the attitudes expressed by children involved in the Head Start program who expressed negative attitudes towards the police, according to Head Start teachers who were interviewed by this report staff. For example: "What does a policeman do?"

> "Almost without exception every child had a negative reaction to this. He hits you, he throws you in jail, he squirts hoses at you. And again, they have been in the riot area and this is all they have ever seen a policeman do. And of course I have to record this as a negative answer and although strictly speaking it was negative, it was the only true concept that they had ever had the opportunity to have."[22]

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[22] From interview #4, Rev. G. Kenneth Tuttle.

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While the source of such an attitude cannot necessarily be attributed to parents or other significant persons in the child's life, the possession of such an attitude, coupled with the indifference and hostility shown by Non-Head Start families, tends to reduce the differences shown in attitude towards police. Thus the findings tend not to support the theory of greater cultural deprivation of Non-Head Start families.

It is also possible that the higher educational level of the Head Start families (see p. 61) enabled them to be more articulate regarding their attitudes toward the police. It may also be that Non-Head Start families, having lived in the Rochester area shorter periods of time (see p. 69), had not suffered as much at the hands of the police.

C. Church.

No apparent differences in attitudes toward the church showed up between Head Start and Non-Head Start respondents. Head Start respondents checked "helpful" and "active in civil rights" in high significance. Non-Head Start respondents attached less significance to the Church's helpfulness, and less than half of Non-Head Start respondents felt that the church was active in "civil rights". This might suggest that Head Start families see greater social involvement in their churches than Non-Head Start families. Thus 30% more Head Start families tended to see the Church as an influential institutional force affecting their lives, than do Non-Head Start families. 25% more Head Start families tended to see the Church as a helpful institutional force in their lives than did Non-Head Start families. It is our judgment that Non-Head Start

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families tend to be more greatly deprived of the Church as an influential, helpful social factor than Head Start families.

D. Social Programs.

In attitudes toward Lighted Schoolhouse and Head Start programs, Non-Head Start families showed significantly less positive feelings than Head Start families, which might logically be assumed since Non-Head Start families did not participate. The higher level of expected change might also be unsurprising, in light of the tendency to hope that a program will achieve something for one's child. As to aspects of the total anti-poverty program they provide insight as to the direction of this hope, i.e. the hopes of families in both groups are that the anti-poverty program will help their children--a projected hope, rather than hope for oneself, or hope for an immediate change.

E. Attitude towards future.

This direction of hope is reflected in attitude towards the future, which, in both groups ranged high.

Mixed into this wistfulness is the shadow of pessimism seen when a concrete question about the possibility of change in the ghetto was asked. Some Non-Head Start respondents expressed pessimism toward the future, and both groups expressed hesitancy at the possibility of getting out of the ghetto, when the practical, concrete question was asked. The hope for betterment is a future hope, and it is also a cautious hope.

This means that the possibility of real frustration is high. There is some hope, but less expectation of anything being better for these families right away. Then, when they are approached with long-range programs, the frustration of present hopes is increased. Where taken in conjunction with the poor's way of living in the present rather than in the future, one can easily see why it is difficult for such programs, like Head Start and Lighted Schoolhouse, to succeed, and one might assume that the greater the degree of deprivation the more difficult it is to make programs, which have future results, work.

G. Communication of Head Start Information.

In spite of door-to-door recruitment and mass media communication, one-third of Non-Head Start families had not heard about Operation Head Start. This seems to be one more bit of evidence that cultural deprivation is characterized by non-involvement in the institutions of the society, including the communications institutions and processes. The effect is to leave the deprived persons in a state of ignorance, and this ignorance does not seem to be related to the educational level, but to their insulation from institutional processes. This insulation from the institutional processes is another way of saying that racial prejudices that characterize white persons who dominate the institutions of society have the effect of depriving the victim of prejudice of knowing what is going on. In our judgment it is not likely that this insulation, or deprivation, will be eliminated unless there is far more clear indication that the dominant, white society is honestly struggling to rid itself of its prejudices.

II. Education.

In the matter of Education, Head Start families scored consistently higher than Non-Head Start families. Head Start fathers

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showed approximately 20% greater average of Education. Head Start mothers showed approximately 13% greater level of education. While the category Head Start "Other Adults" showed 7% greater educational level than Non-Head Start "Other Adults". This tends to support the thesis that Non-Head Start families are more culturally deprived.

A word here, though. The overall level of achievement belies an attitude that is often expressed:

> "These people are uneducated, unskilled, untrained".

Perhaps it would be better to use the terms, "under-educated, under-skilled, under-trained", and perhaps we ought to examine individual situations more closely. The finding also suggests that perhaps more can be done to encourage further participation in training and improvement programs--a guarantee of improved job status upon successful completion, for example.

III. Speech Clarity.

If we accept the judgment of the interviewers relative to clarity of speech, Head Start respondents showed clearer speech patterns (82.2% for Head Start respondents, as opposed to 74.3% for Non-Head Start) in combined categories, "clear" to "very clear", which again supports our thesis. Beyond this support, however, is the importance of the interviewer's identification with the interviewers. We feel that close identification with the groups (and theinterviewers were indigenous to the area) makes for easier communications. This again suggests greater use of persons indigenous to the areas served, particularly where communication is the emphasis; since easier communications might enhance the effectiveness of the programs.

IV. Socialization.

Our measurement of specific selected social activities again tends to support our thesis, for Head Start families showed greater aggression in terms of outgoing activity than Non-Head Start families. It is interesting that, as a category, those activities more closely related to formal institutions generally fared worse than other categories--for both groups. This again reflects the failure of formal institutions as influential forces in the lives of these groups. There is a correlation in the attitudes and participation of Head Start and Non-Head Start families in the areas of attitudes toward, and participation in, the institutional forces and structures of the community. Head Start families show a consistently greater participation in membership in the Church, lodge, school, church and settlement house programs, and a more positive attitude toward Police, and the Church as a source of help and an active agent in the Civil Rights struggle, than did Non-Head Start families. Hence, our view that cultural deprivation may be related to non-involvement in, and negative attitudes toward, the institutional forces of the community seems to be supported. This raises the interesting question of whether this non-involvement and negativism is a product of some inner forces, or external forces. Our study doesn't meet this question, but it suggests that the community has the responsibility to attempt to penetrate the non-involvement with an aggressive outreach program, and to create opportunities to overcome the negativism through providing positive experiences for deprived persons.

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Head Start families have been here longer, with more lifetime residence than Non-Head Start families. Our report did not attempt to determine this, but it is a question which suggests itself when one examines the data regarding marital status.

B. Sibling relationships.

There was more "completeness" in Head Start families than Non-Head Start families, in terms of the presence of other siblings in the home; which again supports our thesis.

Both groups showed the absence of siblings, however, which raises the possibility of their intermittant presence in the home--i.e. they may, possibly, come and go. This speculation raises a further question, does that brother or sister tend to be romanticized and thus used as a pattern? How much influence might come from brothers and sisters who are present in the home?

C. Meals.

Thesis is supported, although percentage differences are not great. The tendency shows Non-Head Start families have less meals together, and this supports the marital and sibling relationship data.

VI. Family Health.

We recognized the limitations of this kind of inquiry, but it is our judgment that its inclusion might help to give some general impression of the self-evaluation of Head Start and Non-Head Start families.

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The data failed to show a marked difference in the way Head Start and Non-Head Start families felt about their health, and thus does not support our thesis.

VII. Home Conditions.

Data relative to home conditions did not come clear, and reflects some difficulty in its use by the interviewers. However, perhaps the inclusion of the questions gave some insight into the perception that the interviewers had concerning the condition of homes. The factor of the condition of the home appeared to be less significant to the interviewers, apparently, than for us. It would seem that, generally speaking, the condition of the home is harder to evaluate, as a cultural factor, in the universe of our study, than other factors.

VIII. Financial Status.

Significantly more Head Start respondents use community resources (A.D.C., Welfare and other) for family support than do Non-Head Start respondents. This may be related to length of residence in Rochester (Non-Head Start respondents have been in residence for shorter periods of time) and to lower levels of socialization (Non-Head Start respondents are less aggressive in all types of social interaction (see p. 57). It might also be related to education as well, since there are certain financial obligations related to school attendance, etc. The point is that almost all the factors examined have a financial aspect, and where there is a lack of money, the incidence of lower participation is almost predictable.

It is our judgment that the lack of sufficient income is the real base of many of the problems of the poor, and addresses itself quite forthrightly to the basic issue, of whether poverty is caused by the problems of the poor, or whether the problems of the poor are caused by poverty. Probably, it is both; but the emphasis on education, which has greater future implications than present possibilities, could conceivably be questioned as the base for an anti-poverty program.

VIX. Mobility.

Length of residency in and of itself is not a decisive factor in establishing a measurement of cultural deprivation of the familial groups in which the child lives, for obviously there were some Head Start families who lived in Rochester and in their present residence no longer than some Non-Head Start families. But with one exception, Head Start families were in residence in Rochester a minimum of five years, whereas the first quartile of Non-Head Start families were in residence less than five years. The familiarity or strangeness of an urban culture seems to be one factor in cultural deprivation. However, we need to look further for reasons to account for the other 75% of Non-Head Start families non-participation in the Head Start program, since this 75% was in residence from 5 years to 23 years with six being life long residents.

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SECTION FIVE: CONCLUSION

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Conclusion

Overall results indicate that our thesis has significant validity. The Operation Head Start program in Rochester did not reach the more severely culturally deprived families in the areas served. Probably, because

A. Information about the program did not reach these families, and

B. Their greater social distance, and/or insulation from the institutions of the community, coupled with financial vulnerability and pessimism, made them less responsive to programs designed to have effect sometime in the future.

The effectiveness of the Head Start program is yet to be revealed, since its objectives are realized after the child is enrolled in school. However, if cultural deprivation continues to make basic programs of improvement difficult for those upon whom they are focused, then greater attention must be given to the areas of greatest deprivation, and the underlying philosophy behind the programs must be adjusted to meet them.

We therefore recommend that

1. Efforts be made by those groups involved in the total program of the War on Poverty, to find ways by which immediate increases in family income can be realized--and this in conjunction with an aggressive approach to employers to guarantee jobs upon completion of improvement programs.

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2. That the Head Start program be continued, with increased employment of persons indigenous to areas served, not just as aides, but in areas of recruitment, communications, and teaching, and that families in the poverty classification be financially compensated for sending their child to Head Start programs.

3. That community institutions be encouraged to realistically examine their present approaches and programs relative to the poor, and

4. Where persons indigenous to areas show skills, sensitivity, and talent in relating to others, that they be employed as detached community leaders, trained to explain and encourage participation in programs like Head Start.

Recommendations for further study.

A. We recommend that further study be done on the origins of the families who come to Rochester, from whence do they come, and what were the distinguishing factors of that culture? What application could be made of its positive factors: for example, if the previous culture was agrarian, what positive factors might be transferred to the present culture: A family, where the parents were previously tenant farmers, could conceivably be invited to participate in a suburban, week-end, or after-work "Victory Garden" program; utilizing whatever skills they might have developed, given assistance by a county agent and provided transportation by voluntary or public means.

B. We also recommend that there be an expansion of the examination of cultural facors, illustrated by this report, so that where other deprivations exist they may be dealt with.

Comment.

One factor which we did not measure (and could not within the confines of our study) was the factor of racial prejudice. We need to investigate the significance of racial prejudice as part of the blocks which deprive families of participation in the mainstream of cultural activity.

A great deal of effort is going into giving children of poverty families a "Head Start" so as to help them acquire the educational skills to participate in the mainstream of society. However, if those children continue to observe that it is not the lack of education or economic affluence which keeps them in the ghettos and denies them social acceptance in the white society, but the color of their skin, then what will they do? Apply to the O.E.O. for the development of programs which will either provide whites with glasses that render the whites color-blind to skin pigmentations? or apply for a program which will remove the pigmentation from the skin of Negroes so they can pass for white?

Whether racial prejudice will die out as a consequence of increased educational and occupational skills on the part of the largest single group of poverty people, the Negro, remains to be seen. In the meantime, the more we expose prejudice as a factor in cultural deprivation, the more likely we are to be able to frustrate its expression in our social and economic life.

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I. MOBILITY OF FAMILY

A. How long in Rochester?____________
B. How long in present quarters?_______
C. How long in last quarters?_________
D. How many places in Rochester?_______

II. FAMILY'S SOCIALIZATION

A. Belong to organization____________
B. Church member____ know____ don't know____ pastor
times attended last six months______________
C. Lodge. Member____ times attended last six months____
D. Other (specify)________________ times attended last six months____
E. Entertainment. Where do you go?
movies____ bar____ poolroom____ visit friends____ dance____
settlement house____ school programs____ church programs____
F. Political participation.
belong to party, vote in primary____ regular election____
active in Ward club____ know supervisor____ councilmen____

III. FAMILY ATTITUDES

A. Political party.
helpful, friendly____ indifferent____ hostile____
B. Police.
helpful____ friendly____ indifferent____ hostile____

III. Family Attitudes - continued

C. Church.
helpful____ friendly____ indifferent____ hostile____
lively____ dull________
Active in civil rights____
Preach and teach about Heaven and Hell________

D. Lighted Schoolhouse Program.
helpful____ friendly____ indifferent____ not known____

E. Operation Headstart.
helpful____ friendly____ indifferent____ not known____
Did your child's participation change your family life?
Changed things a great deal____
Changed things a little________
Things are about the same______
Things are worse______________
Things are much worse_________

F. Do you seriously expect the Anti-Poverty Program to
help your child?____________
help you?__________________
help your family?___________
Where did you get your information about Head Start?
word of mouth____ radio____ T.V.____ others________

III. Family Attitudes - continued

G. Attitude towards future.
Better world for child____________________
Same world forchild____________________
Worse world for child____________________

H. Do you think the person living in the ghetto has a better chance to get out of the "ghettos" and poverty and discrimination today than five years ago?________ Are his chances improving?________ Will they be better five years from now?____________________

IV. FAMILY'S HEALTH

A. Father's Health. excellent____ good____ fair____ poor____
B. Mother's Health. excellent____ good____ fair____ poor____
C. Children's Health. excellent____ good____ fair____ poor____

V. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

	can't read	primary 1,2,3	junior 4,5,6	junior high 7,8,9	senior high 10,11,12	college 1,2,3,4	grad. school
Mother	____	____	____	____	____	____	____
Father	____	____	____	____	____	____	____
Adults over 15 yrs.	____	____	____	____	____	____	____

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SPEECH - UNDERSTOOD

very clear____ clear____ somewhat unclear____ difficult____.
very difficult____

VI. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

A. Marital Relationships.
Mother_____Father
____ mar. ____
____ sep. ____
____ div. ____
____ dec. ____
____ c.l. ____

B. Child-Parent Relationships.
Mo.__Fa. at home regularly, periodically.
Mo.__Fa. away from home, but seen by children.
Mo.__Fa. away from home; no contact with children.
Step-relationship.
Mo.__Fa. c.l.

C. Sibling Relationships.
Brothers living in home _____ Ages______________
Sisters living in home _____ Ages______________
Brother-Sisters deceased____________________

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VI. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS - continued

C. Sibling Relationships. (continued)
Brothers (single...married...) living away from home but in contact.
Sisters (single...married...) living away from home but in contact.

D. Mother's status as Mother.

1. Meals.

____3 regular meals prepared, served at set table
____2 regular meals prepared and served at table, 3rd is irregular
____1 meal served at set table, other two are irregular.
____All meals irregular. Catch as catch can.
Balanced diet
Imbalanced diet (specify items that predominate in diet, i.e. bread, potato chips, peanut butter, etc.)

2. Housekeeping.

____Neat as a pin
____Clean
____Moderately messy
____Dirty
____Very Dirty
____Rubbish and garbage disposed
____Enough containers
____Accessible
____Regular pickups

VII. FINANCIAL STATUS

A. Father works, regular income--money is brought home and used for family____

B. Only part of money gets home____

C. No money gets home____

D. Mother works to supplement income____
   child care____ type____________

E. Mother alone works, income adequate____

F. Mother alone works, gets supplemental help from
   A.D.C.____ Public Welfare____

G. Other__________________________________

VIII. LIVING QUARTERS

A. Rooms.

no.____ working toilet____ bath____ hot water____

Do other persons living in the building share the toilet____

the bath_____

no. adults in these quarters__________________________

no. children in these quarters________________________

B. Type of Building.

single____ duplex____ triplex____ 4-family____ 5 or more apts.____

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VIII. Living Quarters - continued

C. Furnishings.
brand new____ relatively new____ mixed new and old____
broken, lacks certain pieces ____ tables____ chairs____
sofa____ beds____ kitchen equipped____ stove____
refrigerator____ heat____ electricity____ gas____

Chief industries of Rochester include:

photographic equipment and supplies
optical instruments and lenses
dental equipment and supplies
opthalmic goods
men and boy's clothing
auto parts and accessories

Major Companies

1. Photographic and related.

Eastman Kodak
Graflex
Photostat
Xerox
DuPont
Wollensak
Shuron Optical
Paragon-Revolute
Bell & Howell
Bausch and Lomb
Elgeet optical
Gundlach
Projection Optics
Art Craft Optical

2. Food Processing.

Clapps Baby Foods
Gerber Products
Beech-Nut Inc.
R.T. French Co.
Birds Eye Division of General Foods

3. Automotive.

Delco Appliance
Rochester Products
Schlegel Manufacturing Co. (auto textile)
Voght Manufacturing Co.
Fasco Industries
Rochester Manufacturing Co.
Hickock Manufacturing Co.

4. Medical and dental.

"New York State is the nation's leading producer of surgical, medical, and dental equipment. Twenty percent of the state's production of this equipment is by firms in and around Rochester. The largest manufacturer of fixed dental equipment in the country is the Ritter Company.../and/is the only establishment in the industry employing over 1,000 persons... Industry sources have estimated that 60% of the employees are in the skilled category."

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5. Other Industries.

   a. electrical machinery, employing, in 1958, 14,030 persons.
   b. machinery except electrical, 8,627 emp.
   c. apparel and related, 7,970 employees.

2 Clergymen Tell Why Alinsky Was Invited Here

Chicago sociologist Saul Alinsky, who has been invited to bring his Industrial Areas Foundation to Rochester to help organize the Negro community, is a controversial man. Most people take sides for or against him. He has been described as "a great democrat" and "friend of the underdog" on one hand, and as a "hatemonger" and "rabblerouser" on the other.

The Rev. Richard N. Hughes, director of the Rochester Area Council of Churches, and the Rev. Herbert D. White, director of the Board for Urban Ministry, which extended the invitation to Alinsky, sat down this week with a reporter to answer some questions on his purpose and methods.

Here in essence is what they had to say:

Our Urban Challenge

2B The Times-Union
Fri., Feb. 5, 1965

By DESMOND STONE

ANSWERING QUESTIONS ARE Rev. Herbert D. White (left), director of the Board for Urban Ministry, and Rev. Richard N. Hughes, director of the Rochester Area Council of Churches.

By whom was Alinsky invited to work in Rochester?

By the Board for Urban Ministry, with the unanimous approval of the board of directors of the Rochester Area Council of Churches and with the endorsement of the Commission on Religion and Race.

When was the invitation formally issued?

In December, though the idea was discussed for some months before that by various church groups.

Whom do the Board and the Council represent?

One thing we want to make clear is that the Board for Urban Ministry is structured and financed by local Protestant denominations, whereas the Council is composed of member congregations. The funds for Alinsky and his Industrial Areas Foundation are going to the Board from the denominational structures at the local, state and national levels.

Is this distinction important?

Yes. There are some people who think that the $100,000 needed for IAF over two years is coming out of the budget of the Council of Churches. This is not true. There are also those who think the decision to invite Alinsky was made by just a few people on the Council. In fact, as we have indicated, the structures, the governing bodies, of major Protestant denominations are deeply involved. No decision in recent years has been participated in by more people.

Yet members of some congregations apparently feel they were not consulted?

As we have said, we have worked mainly with the denominational structures. While we have tried to talk to as many groups as possible, we have left it mainly to the governing bodies to keep congregations informed.

Is this $100,000 already committed?

Yes.

By whom?

As of now, by the United Presbyterian Board of National Missions, the United Presbyterian National Commission on Race and Religion, the Presbyterian Synod of New York, the Presbytery of Genesee Valley, the Monroe Baptists Association, the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester, the Board of National Missions of the American Baptist Church, the Board of North American Missions of the Reformed Church in America, the Methodist District Urban Church Committee, the Board for Urban Ministry, and several anonymous sources.

How does this amount break down locally and nationally?

About 60 per cent is coming from national and state organizations, and about 40 per cent from local sources.

Why did you choose Alinsky rather than some other organizer?

No one else was available in whom we had faith. We did try to get Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to work here. As you will recall, some of his staff came into Rochester to work among the Negroes after the riots. But Dr. King's group had too many priorities in the South. It couldn't spare the staff.

What was the paramount factor in the decision to ask Alinsky to come here?

Basically, the judgment we made was that there is a missing dynamic in Rochester contributing to anarchy and bitterness—the lack of structural organization among the inner city people that would give them a voice, cohesion, and a sense of identity.

How long has this lack, or what you feel to be a lack, been evident to you?

At least for four years, but more noticeably since the controversy that preceded the establishment of the Police Advisory Board. We had at that time, if you will recall, a number of young Negro leaders associated with the Monroe County Non-Partisan League. They became discouraged and left. . . . The League could have been the force around which the Negro community could have rallied.

Could the job that Alinsky is expected to do be done by Rochester itself?

In the first place, we don't have here a group with IAF's 24 years of experience. And the local white community can't organize the Negro community. It's our feeling that only the Negro can do this, with such help as IAF might supply. IAF won't be working for the white community but for the Negro.

What do you mean by organizing the Negro?

Mainly, organization around issues.

How would Alinsky's group affect such programs as those being set up by the anti-poverty people?

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The Council of Churches is represented on the board of ABC (Action for a Better Community, Inc., the local anti-poverty agency) and has a deep interest in all phases of its work. But what you're really asking is this: If IAF comes in, will it set people against all existing agencies?

Certainly this fear has been expressed. How do you answer it?

We say that, historically, this has not been true of IAF's work. A study document of the Northwest Community Organization in Chicago by Richard Prosser, now director of Friendship House in Lackawanna, shows that five settlement houses there opted to join the IAF effort. In fact, the president of the Community Organization is a settlement house executive. Two other settlement houses did not choose to work with IAF, but that was their privilege.

You say, then, that IAF does not repudiate existing agencies?

Historically, there has been no de facto exclusion from IAF efforts. According to an article in Commentary magazine by Charles Silberman, author of "Crisis in Black and White," the organization created by IAF in Chicago's Woodlawn is bargaining and contracting for services. For instance, it has a $75,000 contract with the State Department of Labor for manpower training. The fact that some settlement houses, churches, sorority groups, and in some cases lending institutions have cooperated in Woodlawn suggests that IAF isn't coming in here to indoctrinate the Negro against all the structures of the community . . . Some people seem to be afraid of what the Negro community will do when it's organized. But this is tantamount to a lack of faith that the Negro can be organized to decide intelligently what is best for him.

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What will happen to community planning if Alinsky comes in and organizes the Negro community?

The answer, in our opinion, will lie in the degree to which anti-poverty community planning, for example, makes sense to the Negro.

Do you feel that even if ABC, to keep using this example, succeeds with all its plans, there will still be a need for Alinsky?

Yes, because ABC has nothing to do with the issue of cohesiveness in the Negro community. ABC is concerned with supplying services to lots of individuals.

What has caused this lack of cohesion, as you describe it?

Among other things, a small Negro population here was inundated by a large influx over the past 10 years.

But hasn't much been done to tackle the problems created by this population jump?

Yes, but something has been forgotten . . . People have said, "we don't want to go through the demonstrations that have characterized civil rights efforts in other cities, and we are willing to meet the Negro half way to avoid them." But what Rochester hasn't realized, and this is the tragedy, is that every Negro community has to find itself.

No matter how much effort the white community may be making?

Yes, regardless. The Negro, we feel, has to find his own dignity, his own sense of worth. As Alinsky said the other day, "Equality can't be wrapped up in a box with a ribbon; it has to be taken."

What do you mean by "taken?"

This needs explaining. What is meant here is that the Negro, by his own actions, must himself achieve some of his gains. We don't see how he can be denied this right. It can be delayed, but the alternatives are not pleasant.

What gives you your confidence in IAF?

Notably, the Woodlawn project, cited by Silberman, Msgr. Egan of the Archdiocese of Chicago, Dr. Dan Dodson, director of the center for human relations and community development at New York University, and others as the most significant urban Negro organization in the country. But there is much else, for example the organization of the Mexican-American communities up and down California.

What evidence have you found of support for Alinsky?

The Presbytery in Chicago and the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago have both supported him. So has the Board for National Missions of the Presbyterian Church. And the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, after an intensive study, recently set aside $50,000 to support IAF in various communities.

What about the National Council of Churches?

It has not yet made any policy statement.

It has been said that Alinsky seeks "solution through conflict." Is this so, and, if so, what is meant by it?

The trouble here perhaps is that many people have been thinking of conflict in terms of violence. In fact—and this should be underlined in red—physical violence has never, according to all the knowledge we have, been associated with any of the IAF organizing efforts. Further, as Alinsky himself says, he doesn't have to create conflict. It is already there.

What about the statement that Alinsky "rubs raw the sores of discontent?"

Alinsky claims this statement was made by the University of Chicago about him, that he didn't make it. There's a state of public confusion about his goals and methods.

What, do you feel, are people confused about?

In the light of riot experience here, words like "conflict" and "taking equality" are frightening to people. They don't know what is meant by them. They tend to associate them with violence. Yet the people of Rochester, in the wake of the riots, may be better prepared than they realize to assimilate a community organization like IAF.

If you feel that "solution through conflict" and "rubbing raw the sores of discontent" don't get to the heart of Alinsky's methods, what does?

You can put it this way. He works to convert existing conflict into negotiable issues.

It has been said that Rochester's Negro community is peculiarly divided. If this is true, wouldn't it make Alinsky's task difficult?

If this is true, then it would only make the presence of IAF peculiarly necessary.

What response is the Negro community making to the invitation to Alinsky?

The Rochester Area Ministers Conference has come out solidly for him. And scores of petitions are being circulated in the Negro community.

What are the conditions of acceptance by Alinsky?

There's one misconception here. It's been suggested that, in addition to the approval of the Negro community, there has to be a general response from the white community. We haven't said this, and we don't think Alinsky feels this way. If there is a sufficient response from the Negro community, that will settle it. The decision-making is between the Negro and IAF. Alinsky will measure the Negro response and make his determination on that basis.

It's being proposed that IAF work here two years. What happens after that?

The aim is to make any local organizational effort self-supporting after the first two or three years.

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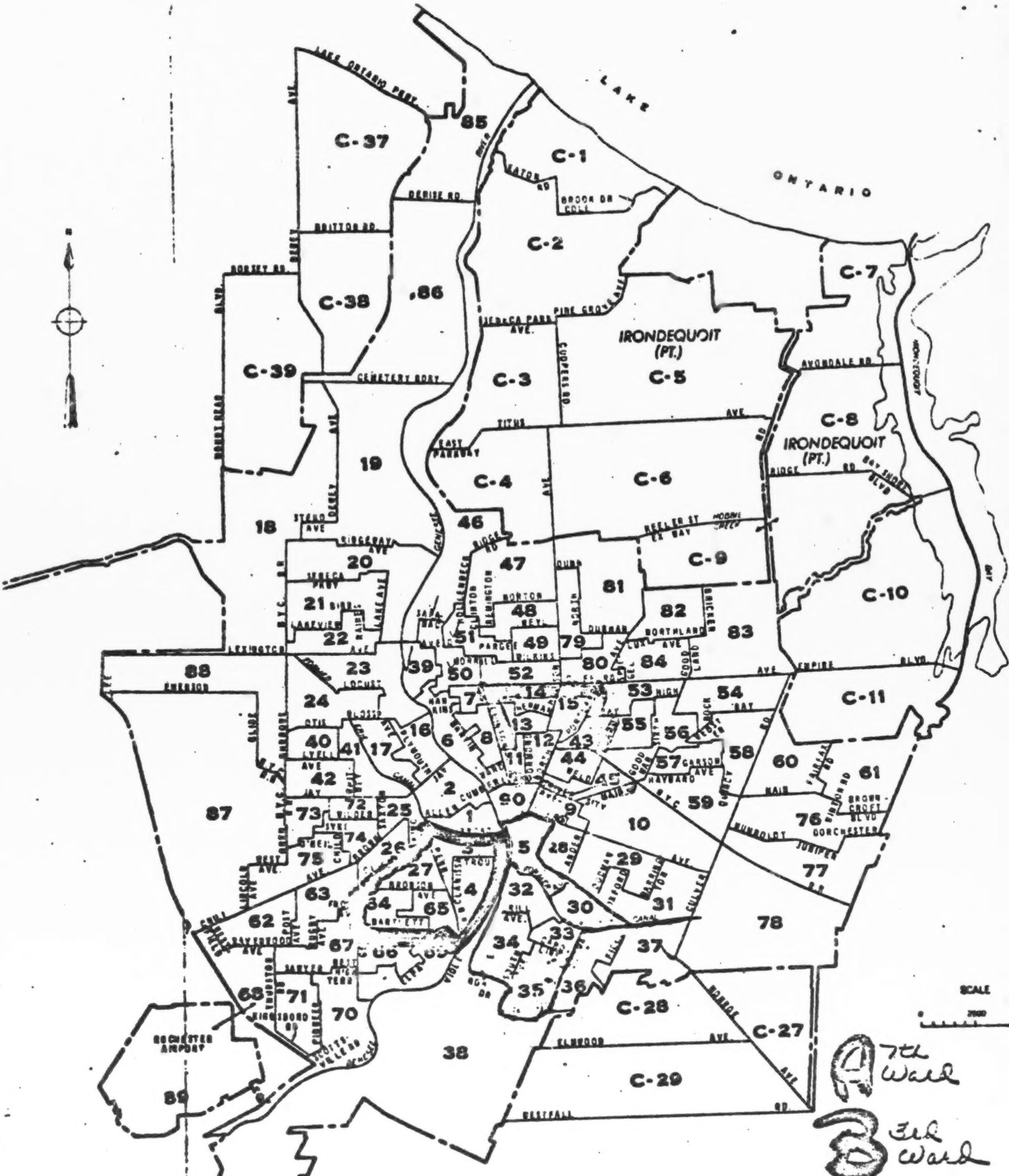
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